The Catholic University Bulletin.

Vol. XVIII. *April, 1912.* *No. 4.*

"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church, a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits, and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—St. Vincent of Lerins, *Commonit, c. 6.*

Published by

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

Washington, D. C.

J. H. FURST COMPANY, PRINTERS,
BALTIMORE.

The
Catholic University Bulletin.

Vol. XVIII. *April, 1912.* *No. 4.*

THE END OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENT.[1]

It was, I think, the late Lord Morris of Killanin, himself a stalwart champion of the parliamentary union between the component parts of the United Kingdom, who, on being asked by the charming wife of an English viceroy of Ireland to tell her what was the real cause of Irish disaffection, replied that all the trouble arose from the fact that a stupid race like the English persisted in trying to govern a clever race like the Irish. It was one of those quizzical remarks for which some of Lord Morris's countrymen are famed, and which, made, *more Hibernico,* half in jest and wholly in earnest, contain a great truth embedded in a gruff, satirical turn of expression. Its force and cogency emerge clearly after a perusal of Mr. Fisher's book. I must not, however, be taken as suggesting that Mr. Fisher's principal object is to indicate any such conclusion: far from it, for his purpose is altogether different; but his marshalling of facts, his revelation of the weakness and iniquity of the Irish parliament, and his exposure of the methods of corruption employed by the English executive in Ireland leave clearly discernible to the thinking man the basic truth that English misgovernment, flowing from callousness

[1] *The End of the Irish Parliament,* by Joseph R. Fisher. Longmans, Green, and Co., New York; London: Edward Arnold. Pp. xii + 316. 1911.

For a short preliminary review of this book see *The Catholic University Bulletin* for February, 1912.

towards the rights of a conquered nation and from a culpable unwillingness or neglect to understand the character of the race with which the rulers had to deal, was primarily responsible for most of Ireland's woes.

Swift and Whately, quoted approvingly by Mr. Fisher, have very well illustrated the attitude of English statesmen towards Irish affairs in Church and State. In his own grimly satirical way Swift describes the bishops of the Irish established church —that church in which he himself held so distinguished a position as Dean of St. Patrick's. "Excellent and moral men," he says, "have been selected upon every occasion of vacancy. But it unfortunately has uniformly happened that as these worthy divines crossed Hounslow Heath, on their road to Ireland to take possession of their bishopricks, they have been regularly robbed and murdered by the highwaymen frequenting that common, who seize upon their robes and patents, come over to Ireland, and are consecrated bishops in their stead." And Whately, who had studied his subject at close range, is no less pungent when speaking of the civil governors. "People who think it easy to govern Ireland," he says, "because it is poor, half-civilised, and full of ignorance, are like the medical student who imagined that he had learned enough of medicine to doctor very little children."

There we have the keynote of the whole disgraceful situation: the tyranny and extermination of Elizabethan, Jacobean, and Cromwellian days were succeeded by the savage religious enactments of the reign of Anne; and when religious persecution had in some degree abated in practice, it gave way in turn to a coldness, a want of sympathy, and an almost invincible ignorance of the wants and requirements, the ideas, feelings, and aspirations of the Irish people. In Mr. Fisher's forcible language, the English conquerors "no more dreamt of providing a Parliament for the 'Irish enemy' than did the New England colonists for the Indians who had inhabited the territories lying round Massachusetts Bay. To them the native Irish outside the Pale were public enemies, and were treated as such . . . The overwhelming bulk of the Irish people stood aloof and lived their own lives" (p. 4).

In their dealings with the sister country, especially from the sixteenth century onward, the cardinal error of English statesmen, for which they stand condemned at the bar of history, was the dispossession of the ancient owners of the land of Ireland, the presentation of the titles to their property to a horde of adventurers and planters, and the consequent impoverishment, generally accompanied by the outlawry, of the masses of the population. This policy, initiated by Henry II. and developed to an extraordinary pitch under Elizabeth, was continued with a will by her successors. Its evil results have been apparent even down to our own times. They were particularly noticeable during the reigns of Anne and the Georges. For the greater part of the eighteenth century anything more wretched than the condition of the peasantry of Ireland the annals of mankind can scarcely show. Their religion proscribed, their priests banned, their property assessed for tithes to support an alien church, their children and themselves debarred from education, their country periodically swept by famine, the land let at rack-rents to sub-tenant under sub-tenant, six deep, so that even at the best of times potatoes and water were the staple food of the common people, is it any wonder that they were ultimately goaded into revolt against the system, and that their many wrongs came to a head in such movements as those originated by the Whiteboys and the Defenders? If there has been an "Irish Question," it is mainly because there have been bad land laws, and if there were bad land laws, it was mainly because the English conquerors did not give themselves a thought about the application of the first principle of good government, namely, the happiness and welfare of the people governed. The "mere Irish" were left out of account: the concern of English rulers for centuries was only with the party of ascendancy, which, in a very literal sense, acted as a garrison for overawing and holding down the conquered natives.

All this is told in masterly fashion, if with slightly provoking historical calm, by Mr. Fisher. Further, in pursuance of his thesis, he takes special pains to show, first, that the so-called Irish parliament was never really representative of the majority

of the people of Ireland, the Nonconformists, who were specially strong in the province of Ulster, being barred from membership thereof from 1704 until 1780, and the Catholics being excluded not only from membership but even, until 1793, from a vote towards the election of its members; and, secondly, that the shifting and vacillating policy of the government in England resulted in leaving the great majority of the inhabitants of Ireland a prey to the "Undertakers" and a few great families, who engineered the parliament as a machine for wholesale jobbery and for the promotion of their own interests, wholly irrespective of the rights of the remainder of the population.

It is only when he gets down to Grattan's parliament and the carrying of the Union that Mr. Fisher runs counter to generally received opinions. The proposition that he sets himself to prove is that, contrary to the belief of most Irishmen, the much belauded Irish constitution which is known by Grattan's name was "surely the most impotent and unworkable machine ever devised by the wit of man" (p. 135), that it was, in fact, "little better than a patent absurdity" (p. 218), and that, from 1782 on, the union of the British and Irish parliaments was a logical necessity, as inevitable as the crack of doom.

Mr. Fisher begins his account of the end of the Irish parliament with the viceroyalty of Lord Townshend (1767-1772), whom he holds up for an admiration that hitherto has not been usually accorded, and thereafter he carries us interestingly along through the rule of the Harcourts, the Carlisles, the Rutlands, and the rest, until he brings us up fairly and squarely before Cornwallis and Castlereagh and the Earl of Clare. Of necessity in this account he introduces us to the agrarian revolt in South and North, the exploits of Paul Jones and the *Ranger* in Carrickfergus Bay in 1778, the consequent Volunteer Movement, Grattan's Declaration of Independence, Pitt's Commercial Propositions, the Peep o' Day Boys and the Defenders, the organisation of the United Irishmen, the plots, plans, attempts, and failure of Wolfe Tone, the Rebellion of 1798, and the final scene of the Union. Here and there, too, we get most interesting

glimpses of the world movements of the American and French Revolutions and of their effect upon Irish feelings and ideas.

He who undertakes the perusal of this volume without an intimate knowledge of the history of the period under review to serve as a corrective to Mr. Fisher's *ex parte* statements, or with prejudices derived from the wholesale inaccuracies of successive generations of stump orators, will receive many an unpleasant jar. If such a one takes Mr. Fisher for guide, he will be made sullenly to realise that several of his idols have feet of clay, he will see with amazement many brilliant reputations dimmed, and, stranger still, he will find one or two of the blacker characters of popular imagination unexpectedly whitewashed. Among those who come under the lash are Flood, Foster, Fox, and Burke; but however it may be with the counts brought against these, Mr. Fisher will find few to agree with him in his estimate of Grattan; and surely it is a stiffer task than even he can accomplish to rehabilitate in the good opinion of Irishmen Castlereagh or Pitt or "black Jack" Fitzgibbon.

That Molyneux in 1698 sighed for a union, that the Irish Lords and Commons petitioned Queen Anne for it in 1703 and 1707, and that Montesquieu and Adam Smith and other philosophers and statesmen raised their voices in its favour throughout the century, are interesting sidelights let in on the history of the question, which will, however, be new only to those who are not familiar with the works of previous writers.

The religious difficulty here, as elsewhere in the troubled pages of Irish history, plays a prominent part. Readers of a historian like Lecky will moult no feather when told by Mr. Fisher that the Catholic bishops, the leaders of the Catholic laity, and the masses of the Catholics so far as their opinion was ascertained, were in favour of the Union, and that some of them fought strenuously for its accomplishment. Thus Dr. Lennan, Bishop of Dromore, led the newly enfranchised members of his flock to such effect in Newry in 1799 that he was in a position to report to Dr. Troy, Archbishop of Dublin, that

"the Catholics stuck together like the Macedonian phalanx, and with ease were able to turn the scale in favour of the Chancellor of the Exchequer." This Chancellor of the Exchequer was Isaac Corry, an out-and-out supporter of the Union, who had been appointed to his office in succession to Sir John Parnell, dismissed for opposing that measure. A more surprising example of the irony of history is supplied by the experience of Maurice Fitzgerald, the Knight of Kerry. "Having accepted office," he says, "as a supporter of the Union, I went to two elections pending the measure, and was returned without opposition in a county where the Roman Catholic interest greatly preponderated, and a declaration almost unanimous in favour of the Union proceeded from the County of Kerry. . . . One of my most strenuous supporters in bringing forward that declaration was Mr. Maurice O'Connell, a gentleman of wealth, respectability, and decided loyalty, uncle of Mr. Daniel O'Connell, and my most active partisan on the occasion was Mr. John O'Connell, brother of Mr. Daniel O'Connell."

This action of the Catholics is easily understood if viewed in the light of two great facts: the attitude of Irish Protestants and of the Irish Parliament towards their faith, and their reliance on Pitt's pledges as to the measures for Catholic relief which were immediately to follow the Union. On the first point, which doubtless was obvious enough at the time, there has been an extreme divergence of opinion since. Mr. Fisher takes the most sinister view of all. But there are some who go a good part of the way with him. Thus Dr. J. R. O'Connell, in a lecture delivered quite recently in Dublin, tells us that "in reading the proceedings of the Irish Parliament the thought that rises uppermost in one's mind is the narrowness and bigotry, as well as the pettiness and arrogance, which marked all the proceedings, from the least to the greatest." Even Mr. Erskine Childers in his book in favour of Home Rule [2] is somewhat hard on Grattan's Parliament. The gen-

[2] *The Framework of Home Rule*, by Erskine Childers. London: Edward Arnold.

erally accepted Irish view is that expressed by a writer in *Sinn Fein* last December. Speaking of Grattan's Parliament, he says, with some slight inaccuracy as to dates:—

"Its faults and vices are notorious. But they were the faults and vices of its age. Its virtues were its own. When the mob of London, led by a British nobleman, were chasing English Catholics through the streets of the British capital, the Parliament of Ireland was using its regained liberties to strike the heaviest shackles from the Irish Catholic's limbs. With a hundred thousand English bayonets at its breast and the wealth of England opened to corrupt it, 130 of the 300 members of the Irish Parliament were found equally impervious to intimidation and bribery. No contemporary legislature menaced by power and cajoled by corruption made so strong a resistance. It was not to crush an anti-Irish Parliament that the English Minister provoked civil war in Ireland and lavished millions of money."

A more temperate but equally enthusiastic tribute was once paid by Isaac Butt. At the Home Rule Conference held in November, 1873, he thus delivered himself on the subject:—

"A Protestant Parliament, elected exclusively by Protestants, it had repealed the Penal Laws which ground down the Catholic people. In 1793 it admitted the mass of the people to share political power with their fellow countrymen. In that year it gave Catholics the elective franchise, long before their exclusion was removed in England; and in the same year the degrees of the University of Dublin were opened to Catholics, a measure of liberality which English Universities have imitated within the last few years. It was the same Protestant Parliament that established and endowed a Catholic College for Catholic Priests. It is hard for us now, in the advance of liberal opinions, to realise all that was involved in these measures. But when we remember that a Parliament representing a portion of the people who enjoyed a monopoly of political power, of the learned professions, of the landed property of the country, had gone thus far in admitting their Catholic fellow-countrymen to a share in all these, we may well believe with O'Connell that, if that Parliament had not been extinguished, a very few years would have seen the removal of every religious disability and the admission of the Catholic people to a full participation in all the privileges of the Constitution."

Lecky's tribute to the liberalism of the Irish Parliament is well known. "It was," he writes, "during the period of its

independence probably more free from religious bigotry than any body that had ever sat in the United Kingdom."

In spite, however, of all this *ex post facto* testimony, it seemed as if the Catholics had not much to expect from the Irish parliament after 1795. Mr. Fisher proves that even the half-measure of relief granted by the Act of 1793 was primarily the work of Pitt and Dundas. And there were not wanting danger signals in plenty. When the second Dungannon Convention of the Volunteers was held in September, 1783, an amendment moved, in favour of the Catholics, to a resolution declaring that the elective franchise should be extended "to those, and those only, who will exercise it for the public good," was defeated, and Lord Charlemont considered the attempt as "the first appearance of that unaccountable frenzy which afterwards became so dangerously epidemical." Even Grattan, who in 1795 introduced a Bill to admit Catholics to seats in parliament, only to see it rejected by his fellow-members, and who afterwards in the British House of Commons most earnestly championed the Catholic cause, could write thus in 1792:—

"I love the Roman Catholic. I am a friend of his liberty, but it is only in as much as his liberty is entirely consistent with your ascendancy, and an addition to the strength and freedom of the Protestant community. These being my principles, and the Protestant interest my first object, you may judge that I shall never assent to any measure tending to shake the security of property in this kingdom, or to subvert the Protestant ascendancy."

If it was so in the green wood, how was it likely to be in the dry? Clearly, Catholics had no great reason to expect from men in such a frame of mind any speedy or extensive relief from the grievous disabilities under which they still laboured.

In addition to their other anxieties the Catholic Bishops were apprehensive of the spread of the principles of the French Revolution and of secret societies among their people. Harassed on every side, they looked more to the Parliament of England than to the Parliament of Ireland to bring about a more tolerable condition of affairs. When Grattan found them unani-

mous for the Union he denounced them as "a band of prostituted men," and hinted that they were in the pay of the government; they have since at odd intervals been greatly blamed for their supposed want of patriotism in the matter, and I suppose it is one of those subjects on which controversy will be never-ending; but, looking at the question impartially now after the lapse of more than a century, one is almost forced to the conclusion that they followed the path along which, as it seemed, true liberty led them.

For on the second point noted above, the relief for Catholics, there appeared to be no possibility of doubt. Pitt and Castlereagh were pledged up to the hilt to grant, as a sequel to the Union, complete Catholic Emancipation, with state recognition of the Catholic as well as of the Episcopalian and Presbyterian Churches, and a thorough reform of the system of tithes. That they were prevented from carrying out these promises by the treachery of their colleagues and the blind obstinacy of the King is one of the saddest episodes in the long drawn out story of Ireland's wrongs. Of course the two ministers resigned (1801): as honourable men they could do nothing else; but the Union stood and the grievances of the Catholics remained. A few years later (1804) Pitt, to his eternal discredit, headed a ministry pledged against Catholic Emancipation, and not all Mr. Fisher's special pleading can clear him of the stigma that indelibly attaches to such an abandonment of principle.

Taken all in all, *The End of the Irish Parliament* is a stimulating book. It will bear reading and re-reading. It has also its warning. The Union, which the author has so ingeniously defended, has been tried for 112 years, and has been found wanting. Almost from the beginning attempts were made to have it repealed. Now that we are confronted with what seems a genuine determination to dissolve or, at least, to amend it, and to give to Ireland not a sectional but a thoroughly representative Parliament of her own, Mr. Fisher's volume is to be regarded as a timely publication. It sheds so lurid a light on the defects of Grattan's Parliament that

it ought to be impossible to repeat them. The attention of British and Irish statesmen should be focused especially on the following passage:—

"Grattan's Parliament . . . could talk and it could vote or refuse certain additional taxes: but the bulk of the income of the country came from the hereditary revenue which was independent of the vote of Parliament, and which, honestly collected and administered, would render the executive—nominated in England —independent of additional votes. It could pass resolutions, but it had no authority subject to its orders to carry them out. No number of votes of censure in Parliament could shake the position of the Viceroy and his Chief Secretary, who held their offices under the Great Seal of England. It could pass Bills, now that Poynings' Law was gone, without previously submitting them in turn to the Irish and to the English Privy Council. But they only became statutes, as we have said, when they came under the Great Seal of England, and that Seal could only be applied by the English King on the advice of his English Councillors."

Care should be taken that the Irish parliament to be established by the Home Rule Bill of 1912 is subject to no such limitations.

P. J. Lennox.

Catholic University of America,
Washington, D. C.

A GREAT SOUTH AMERICAN SCIENTIST—FRANCISCO JOSÉ DE CALDAS.

In the year 1910 there were feasts and rejoicings in one of our sister republics of the American continent. Meetings were held, speeches were delivered; there reigned in the whole country an enthusiasm which had not been witnessed since the foundation of the republic. Colombia was celebrating the centenary of her independence.

The lives and deeds of the founders of the nation were brought once more before the public eye. Many points of interest were made known, which had been forgotten or overlooked. All who are interested in South American affairs shared Colombia's enthusiasm. We learned to admire her heroes, to sympathize with her history, to peruse the works of her poets and scientists.

I propose in this modest essay to give to the American people a slight idea of one of the purest glories of the Colombian nation. Francisco José de Caldas united in his person many titles to the admiration of posterity. He was at the same time a scientist, an educator, a patriot. After devoting all the resources of his genius to raise the intellectual and moral level of his countrymen, he shed his blood in their defence. All Colombians venerate him as a martyr to liberty.

Of special interest to us Catholics is a man who, in the midst of a revolution inspired by the *Contrat Social,* wrote these eloquent lines:

"Great God, how shall we acknowledge the benefits due to thy kindness? Thou didst save us from the hands of our enemies; save us now from our passions; inspire us with gentleness, humility, moderation; implant all virtues in our hearts; mould the empire of New Granada. In this Thy work shall we adore Thee; we shall sing Thy praise and offer Thee the sacrifice of our hearts, the most grateful in Thine eyes."

The traveler who, having started from the seaport of Buenaventura, on the Pacific coast, has journeyed westward across the

Andes, finds himself face to face with one of the most sublime spectacles which the human eye is able to contemplate. A narrow, winding road leads you to the top of the Cordillera. You follow it day after day, surrounded with virgin forests, without horizon, seeing nothing but the path before you and the huge trees on either side; when, at a winding of the road, you suddenly stop, your soul filled with the amazement which overpowers man at the sight of the infinite. You have before your eyes an immense valley extending on either side as far as your sight can reach. In front of you, almost at the farthest limit of the horizon, you see a bluish elevation of ground above the level of the valley. It is the Middle Cordillera. A luxuriant tropical vegetation fills the whole scenery spread before you. The king of the valley, the Cauca river, hidden under the bamboos, now and then appears as a winding, silvery thread in the centre of the landscape. At the foot of the mountain, a classic Spanish town displays her exceedingly white houses and a net of streets intended to run at right angles and giving you the impression of an awkwardly constructed chessboard. It is Cali, the Eden of the Andes.

The length of the Cauca Valley, from Popayan, at its southern extremity, to Cartago, on the North, is nearly two hundred miles. Its width between the Western and the Central Cordillera is more than fifty miles. "The Cauca Valley is the land of intelligence and valor," said John Montalvo. According to Garcia Zamudio, its capital, Popayan, has furnished to Colombia most of her great men.

In the city of Popayan, Francisco José de Caldas was born on the 25th of September, 1771. The New Kingdom of Granada was at that time one of the most precious jewels of the crown of the Spanish kings. The North American colonies had not yet proclaimed their independence. The French Revolution had not caused the magic word of liberty to resound throughout the world. There was for the Spanish monarch no reason to doubt that he would forever be the peaceful possessor of the most beautiful part of the New World.

Caldas's early years were spent in his native town. In the Seminary of Popayan, he learned the rudiments of religion and

science. He studied Latin, mathematics and philosophy. In the mathematical studies he chiefly delighted. His biographers tell us that after spending the day at the college he would sit up by night and meditate for long hours on the great problems brought before his mind. His health being undermined by excessive work, his mother would deprive him of candles to compel him to retire; but the boy, after feigning to sleep, would get up again and resume his study.

At the age of seventeen, Francisco was sent to Bogota to devote himself to the study of the law. On the 21st of October, 1788, he entered the College of the Rosary. This famous educational center had been founded in 1653 by the Archbishop of Bogota, Cristobal de Torres. In the eighteenth century, its fame attracted youths from all parts of the New Kingdom. Endowed with republican institutions in the midst of an absolute monarchy, it implanted within the hearts of its members the seeds of that patriotism which was soon destined to give so splendid fruits.

After completing his studies in Bogota, and obtaining the degree of Doctor of Laws, Caldas returned to his native city, where he arrived in the year 1793. Caldas's ambition at that time was to devote his whole life to the pursuit of science. Unhappily, his means were scant, and he had to seek some remunerative employment. He then applied himself to commerce, but with little success. From a financial point of view, his commercial transactions were seldom happy. Far from engrossing his mind to the point of making him forget his favorite studies, they often furnished him favorable opportunities of acquiring some new scientific data. Thus, having made a journey to Bogota in 1796 in search of articles of commerce, he saw for the first time Lelande's *Astronomy* and some other scientific works which were destined to exert a considerable influence on his future career.

The pursuit of science was no easy task in New Granada during the eighteenth century. Books were scarce and instruments unknown. Jorge Juan's *Observaciones astronómicas* was the only scientific work Caldas was able to find in Popayan. Unable to obtain the instruments he wanted, he formed the

gigantic plan of making them himself. He first succeeded in constructing a gnomon. Being then in need of a pendulum and of a chronometer, he made use of an old English clock that lay abandoned in a corner of the house, and, by means of a few alterations, modified it so as to suit his purpose. In 1799, he constructed a telescope, with which he was able to study the satellites of Jupiter.

In the year 1800, having ascended Mount Puracé in company with some of his friends, there flashed before his mind the thought that the height of mountains could be measured by means of the thermometer. The heat of boiling water, he thought, is proportional to the atmospheric pressure, and the atmospheric pressure is proportional to the height above the level of the sea. The heat of boiling water may show us therefore the atmospheric pressure, and hence the altitude at which our experiments are performed. He at once began a series of experiments to confirm his discovery. He calculated various altitudes by means of both barometer and thermometer, and the results of his calculations filled him with joy. He resolved, however, not to publish at once the discovery he had made. Was it really a discovery? Had not some European scientist formulated long before the principle that had just dawned upon his mind? And Caldas thus waited until some opportunity would enable him to find out whether his theory was really unknown to the world.

The desired opportunity soon presented itself. In April, 1801, Caldas learned with the most vivid joy that the famous German naturalist, Baron Humboldt, had just landed in Cartagena and was about to undertake a scientific expedition through New Granada and Ecuador. Caldas met Humboldt in Ibarra on the last day of the year 1801. The German scientist was not long in discovering the talents of his youthful admirer. "Mr. Caldas," wrote he in his *Relations of Travels,* "is a wonder in astronomy. Born in the darkness of Popayan, having never traveled further than Santa Fe, he has constructed a barometer, a sector, a telescope. He draws meridians, he measures latitude by means of gnomons. What would not that young man do in a country where he would not be compelled to learn every-

thing by himself!" Caldas's earnest desire was to accompany Humboldt in his expedition. Through the influence of a Spanish scientist then residing in Bogota, and director of a Botanical Expedition, José Celestino Mutis, he obtained from the government the defrayment of all the expenses of the journey. But Humboldt would not have him as a companion and preferred to travel alone.

This was not the only time New Granada had some reason to complain of her German guest. Caldas disclosed to Humboldt his theory as to the measurement of altitudes. Humboldt acknowledged the originality of the idea; but, on his return to Germany, he published an account of his expedition, and in a chapter entitled "Degrees of Heat of boiling water at different altitudes," there appeared the following lines:

"The degree of heat acquired by liquids before ebullition depends on the weight of the atmosphere; and, as the weight varies with the altitude above the level of the sea, each altitude has its corresponding point of ebullition. In the course of my travels, I made numerous experiments on the ebullition of water on the summit of the Andes. I propose to publish them, with some others performed by Mr. Caldas, of Popayan, a distinguished physicist who has devoted himself with an uncommon ardor to astronomy and many branches of natural history."

Not a word in these lines makes us aware of the fact that this Mr. Caldas of Popayan is the discoverer of the law. We are simply told that he performed a few experiments, and are even left under the impression that he performed them under Humboldt's direction.

The disappointment experienced by Caldas on being unable to join Humboldt's expedition did not cause him to abandon his plans. Endowed with an extraordinary degree of will power, he was one of those noble souls for whom obstacles and difficulties are mere incitements to action. In that same year we see him undertaking on his own accord various scientific expeditions. Now he explores the volcano of Imbabura, not visited by Humboldt, and almost loses his life; later he dwells among the Peruvian Indians, studying the customs and the architecture of the Incas. We finally find him in the forests

of Ecuador, engaged in one of the tasks for which posterity thanks him most, the study and classification of the numerous varieties of cinchonas. For, although his thirst for knowledge would lead him to explore all departments of science, there were a few fields which attracted his attention mostly, and botany was one of these. In 1801, Mutis, knowing his enthusiasm for botany, had sent him Linnaeus's *Philosophia Botanica,* which Caldas studied and made his own. Later, Caldas was ambitious to join Mutis's famous Botanical Expedition, and, in point of fact, became its most conspicuous member. And thus, in the years 1804 and 1805, Caldas travelled through the Andean forests, engaged in the study of the cinchona and made important discoveries and for the first time a thorough classification of the varieties of one of the most interesting and useful members of the vegetable kingdom.

An attack of malaria acquired in the forests of Ecuador while studying the plant which was destined to become a specific for that same disease hardly interrupted his work. Almost at the same time, we find him in Bogota taking charge of an astronomical observatory recently constructed and which, to use Caldas's poetic expression, was "the first temple erected to Urania on the New Continent."

A new phase of Caldas's activity now presents itself to us. European periodical publications have not seldom praised the Colombian nation for the interest taken by her great men in the education of youth. If we open the catalogue of a Colombian college, we generally find among the members of its faculty some of the most eminent men of the nation. This reminds us of Socrates devoting his genius to the education of the Athenian youth, and we ask ourselves whether it is only on account of her literary achievements that Bogota has been called the Athens of South America. The same spirit reigned in New Granada at the dawn of the nineteenth century. In 1793, we already find Caldas giving lectures in the law school of the University of Popayan. In 1809, in spite of the excessive work entailed by his scientific researches, he managed to teach in the College of the Rosary.

His teaching was not limited to the professor's chair. His

influence through the press was also very great. In *El Semanario del Nuevo Reino de Granada,* which he founded in 1808, there appeared articles on agriculture, industry, commerce, science, all that could make the country greater and more prosperous. With all his might and main he endeavored to excite in the hearts of the Colombian youth a love for scientific pursuits. "Let us recognize," wrote he in 1799, "that the cultivation of a science is an almost insuperable barrier to vice. Would that parents were convinced of this truth! Would that, instead of threatening and chastising their children, they would give them a taste for some field of science! Young men would then be less vicious, wiser and better."

The *Semanario* soon opened competitions for the solution of the most important social and economical questions which then interested the country and counted among its contributors the most eminent men New Granada then possessed. The Colombians are unanimous in asserting that, since Caldas's day, there has not appeared in the republic so notable a periodical as *El Semanario.*

The year 1810 is a memorable date in South American history. It marks the beginning of the great struggle which was to continue for so many years and to snatch from the domains of the Spanish monarch an entire continent. But, how much blood was to be shed before the newborn republics could peacefully enjoy their independence! How many heroes were destined to die without witnessing the freedom of their country!

While Bolivar combatted the Spaniards with the sword, Caldas attacked them with the pen. He understood that the revolution could not be successful unless the people were instructed. In collaboration with Joaquin Camacho, he founded the *Diario Politico,* the first number of which appeared on the 27th of August, 1810. The South Americans were thus able to understand what grievances had led to the war, what were the aims and the hopes of the revolutionists. With a wisdom seldom found in great political crises, Caldas took pains to make plain what true liberty is: "What is liberty?" asked he, "Does it consist in breaking all law and all respect? In shaking off the yoke of all moral and civil obligation? In giving course

and satisfaction to all passions? By no means. This would be libertinage, an accumulation of all vices and all evils."

"A free man is the man who obeys the law and is not subject to the caprice and the passions of the rulers."

"We must be slaves to the law in order to be free."

"To be free, it is necessary to be virtuous. Without virtue there is no freedom. A corrupted people cannot be free."

"We have had enough valor to conquer liberty; shall we have enough virtue to preserve it?"

A new mission was soon confided to Caldas. In 1812, on taking possession of the presidency of Cundinamarca, General Nariño appointed him captain of engineers. And he who had just instructed the public through the press now instructed the army in the science of war.

His activity was then unequalled. We see him almost at the same time in all parts of the country engaged in the fortification of towns, in the manufacture of gunpowder, in the organization of artillery establishments. In Medellin, he founded a school of military engineering in which all that could lead to the success of the war was carefully studied.

It was no easy task to dislodge the Spaniard from the American soil. Often, during the great war, the future appeared gloomy and the patriots were disheartened. In 1816, Morillo and Enrile arrived from Spain with the purpose of reconquering the American colonies at any cost. All means appeared lawful in their eyes and the reign of terror began.

In the southern part of the country the cause of the revolutionists soon became desperate. The patriots were defeated at Cuchilla del Tambo and Popayan was captured. On hearing of these dismal events, Caldas hastened to the point where his presence was most needed; but he was captured with some friends in his mansion of Paispamba, in that same mansion where he had lived so many happy days with his family, and where he had made his first scientific experiments.

Many of his friends at once took a deep interest in his fate. Even his captor, Muñoz, offered him facilities to escape; but, since the same facilities were refused to his companions in captivity, he rejected the proposal as an insult to his dignity.

Life was dear to him, however. He craved to live to see the freedom of his country; he craved to complete his scientific pursuits. And he therefore wrote a letter to Enrile asking him to pardon his life for the benefit of science. "Spain needs no scientists," was the answer he received. Let us believe that these harsh words were not the expression of the will of a nation which was destined to give Ramon y Cajal to the world.

The College of the Rosary, where Caldas had learned the rudiments of science, where later he had so generously contributed to the education of the Colombian youth, now became his prison. Between its walls he learned the fatal sentence. In the same cloister he had so dearly loved, he prepared his soul for the great journey. On the 29th of October, 1816, the greatest South American was shot by the Spaniards as a traitor to the king. He breathed his last with the valor of the hero; but the cause he had espoused did not die. Colombia is now free; and, after one hundred years, the memory of the man who gave his life for her freedom is universally venerated.

Joseph L. Perrier.

THE NEW IRISH ART.

The work of the "Irish Players," about which we hear so many varied opinions at the present day, is not purely Irish in character. The genuine Irish drama is written in the Irish language, but, being in its infancy and dealing largely with the ephemeral topics suggested by Gaelic propagandism, it has hardly reached the standard of genius, nor does it display as much brilliancy and wit as the works of the Anglo-Irish playwrights. There is an important difference between the spirit of the Anglo-Irish drama and that of the purely Gaelic movement. The former is not a child, though it may be called a cousin of the Gaelic League. Both are to be traced to a wide-spread tendency towards a Gaelic renaissance, which during the last century began to assert itself in more directions than one. That is the only connection between the work of the Irish Players and the Gaelic League. Members of the Anglo-Irish Dramatic Society are not officials of the Gaelic League, nor distinguished Gaelic scholars. Unlike the Anglo-Irish dramatic movement, the Gaelic League is often, though not necessarily, Catholic in spirit, since the Irish language itself is so redolent of the purest Catholicity, that its revival, like the romantic renaissance, cannot fail to turn many minds to things Catholic. Ordinarily salutations in Irish are generally prayers, such as, "God bless you," and the answer, "God and Mary bless you." It is the only language in which one finds a separate name for the Blessed Virgin, *Muire*, while *Maire* is the name for any other Mary.

The chief figures in the Anglo-Irish dramatic movement are W. B. Yeats, J. M. Synge, P. Colum, and Lady Gregory. Yeats and Synge are the greater lights and the others are subordinate satellites revolving round these central luminaries. Before turning his attention to drama, Yeats was a poet of considerable standing. One of his lyric poems, "The Lake

Island of Innisfree," created a literary sensation, and was admired by Robert Louis Stevenson, to whom it came as a new revelation. The poem is supposed to voice the feelings of an Irishman in America, who is dreaming of a joyous return to Ireland:—

> 'I will arise and go now, and go to Innisfree
> And a small cabin build there, of clay and wattles made
> Nine bean rows will I have there, a hive for the honey-bee
> And live alone in the bee-loud glade.
>
> And I shall have some peace there, for peace comes dropping slow
> Dropping from the veils of the evening to where the cricket sings
> There midnight's all a glimmer, and noon a purple glow
> And evening full of the linnets' wings.

Whether in ode or in drama, it were vain to deny that Yeats reveals himself as a true poet. He sees the uncommon ideal in the common concrete. He sees the glory of all true womanhood in a tiny tress of hair. Even the beauty often associated with ugliness does not escape his art, as flagger-lilies are seen to spring from stagnant pools. He is able to gild the common dust of Irish country life. Through the rare alchemy of imaginative insight, tinkers are in his pages transformed into seers, and peasants into poets. In small things perceiving great mysteries, and symbols of a higher Reality, his mystic sense can discern a Divinity pronouncing oracles through the tossing reed, the moaning wind, and the curlew's cry.

The message of Yeats's poetry and drama is one of joy, rapture, ecstasy. He tries to infuse more joy into the world, a mystical kind of joy. But unfortunately, it is the joy of the pagan, rather than the Christian. Regarding the invisible as the true Reality, and conceiving the dreams of poets and seers to be realities and the ordinary actualities of life to be passing dreams, he does not ultimately rest in external nature. Joy, obtained by a mystic contemplation, he identifies with God. The method by which he enforces his central idea is a kind of anarchistic lawlessness. Yeats, in his dramas and poems, expresses contempt for law and rule and measure; like a true disciple of Ibsen he says that "law was the first sin."

What is justified in the ideas of Yeats? There must be some life-giving principle as a basis for the wide appeal which his poetry makes. A poem without reality is written on sand; without it a poet cannot make a name in literature. The grain of reality underlying this anarchistic method is that genius is above ordinary law. The modern dramatic movement as manifested in England and America, dealing largely with such matters as the life of the upper classes, and other ephemeral conditions, provoked the serious displeasure of Yeats. Individuality was necessary, that quality which makes a writer a *genus* in himself, which presents a mind not mortgaged to any man, or body of men, or set of conventional opinions. His contempt for conventionality, however, is carried beyond bounds; in the exclusion of law Yeats makes no exception. An example of his method is found in "The Wanderings of Oisin," in which the celebrated hero of the Fenian cycle of legend is represented as returning to the world after death:—

. . . . . You stars
. . . . You slaves of God
He rules you with an iron rod
He holds you with an iron bond,
Each one woven to the other
Each one woven to his brother
Like bubbles in a frozen pond.
But we . . . .
Unchainable . . . .
With hearts that know nor law nor rule.

As machinery to convey the message of his poems he uses the Fianna, or ancient Irish warriors, whom he represents with flesh and blood before our eyes. Also he makes use of fairies, spirits who are supposed to haunt the old forts of Ireland. The machinery here becomes very delicate, and it is difficult, at times, to understand the full meaning of Yeats. The fairies are very happy people, yet with a strain of sadness. According to the poem called "The Host of the Air" a woman is spirited away by the fairies, and her husband hears one of them playing the bagpipes in her presence:—

He heard while he sang and dreamed
A piper piping away
And never was piping so sad
And never was piping so gay.

And he saw young men and young girls
Who danced in a level place
And Bridget his bride among them
With a sad and a gay face.

But Bridget drew him by the sleeve
Away from the merry bands
To old men playing at cards
With a twinkling of ancient hands.

Yeats also makes use of sensible objects as the symbols of another world. He speaks of "the incorruptible Rose," symmol of the ideal that will never die. Inebriation, "the redness of wine," symbolizes mystical joy.

In his drama, "Where There is Nothing," he gives free scope to his wild method of anarchistic lawlessness. According to the plot an aristocrat in Ireland determines to join a band of "tinkers," who are a sort of Bohemians traveling around Ireland, doing no work, and leading a Gipsy life. He becomes a prominent member of the company, and in trances he gets skilled in seeing visions and dreaming dreams. When at length his failing health renders him unfit for this reckless life, the tinkers leave him in a monastery. Here he preaches, surrounded by nine or ten candles. He extinguishes the first candle, saying while doing so, "I put out Law." Extinguishing another, he says, "I put out Thought, the waster of life." Quenching another, he says in substance, "I put out Cities, we must get back to the Earth—the old way of living." Extinguishing another, he says, "I put out the Church," and thus he continues, "putting out" Work, and, finally, the external World itself. The only thing left is Laughter with cruel claws made to tear aside everything else. There remains joy in excess—one idea characteristic of all Yeats' writings. "Where there is nothing, there is joy, there is God." In this play he fulfills his own wild maxim: "Get your pick to root out the foundations of the world." He abuses a tiny

germ of truth that gives the drama the only poetic reality and life which it possesses. Yeats does not clearly express it, for there encircles him a druidic cloud of perverted mysticism. The great Catholic mystics, during contemplation, concentrated their ideas for the time on one being,—namely, God, and excluded aught else, even religious symbols. Even the Church itself is only something that enables us to obtain eternal life; it is but a means to an end, and the end is inner sanctification. Yeats follows those great Catholic mystics, but at how great a distance! In this play he dares to represent several monks, who dishonour God's altar with mystical exaggerations, which might be worthy of the Dionysian mysteries, but could only dishonour Catholic worship.

He composed another dramatic orgy with the same message but with different machinery—" The Unicorn from the Stars." A peasant, suffering from epilepsy, sees in a vision a unicorn trampling the whole world and treading the mystic grapes of joy. In imitation of this Heavenly anarchist the seer tries to destroy the Church, Law, Cities and everything else. He admits in the end that he did not see the vision properly; he made a mistake by transferring it to the region of fact, and trying to subvert the Church and Law. The purpose of the vision was revelation, not revolution,—a distinction which will not blind our eyes to the misleading and anarchistic tendency of the play, since revelation is of little account except as an appeal to action.

A drama of Yeats, which is not merely unobjectionable, but instructive from the religious standpoint, is " The Hour-Glass." The chief characters are a wiseman and a fool. The wiseman is a scientist who has come to the conclusion that there is no God. He could not discover God with his instruments. A fool meets him, and gives expression to his religious faith, but is laughed to scorn. To the scientist Hell, Heaven, and Purgatory are all a dream. The wiseman has encountered a monk in controversy, and the latter is defeated by means of the dialectics and rhetoric of the former. The wiseman is satisfied,—another Haeckel with the riddle of the world answered.

But a disturbing element is introduced,—an angel is represented as coming to his door. He recollects that long ago he saw some one like the visitor in his prayers. Told that he has but one hour to live, he demurs and tries to change the allotted time, but the angel is inexorable; when the sand drops in the hour-glass, he must depart from life. He is informed, however, that, if he can bring one person back to the old faith, he will enter Heaven. He approaches his wife, whose mind he has perverted, but she believes nothing beyond the material world. He questions his children thinking that they may not have fully lost the faith. As even they do not believe, he is in despair, when the fool arrives. He asks the fool if he believes, and for awhile the fool mocks him but ultimately confesses that he does believe in Hell, Heaven, and Purgatory. The drama represents the folly of the wise, and the wisdom of fools. It owes nothing to the creative faculty of Yeats, as in almost every detail it is found in an ancient Irish legend. (See Lady Wilde, *Ancient Irish Legends*, The Priest's Soul.)

A drama with a patriotic motive is "Cathleen Ni Hoolihan" —symbol of Ireland. According to the plot an old woman is seen coming towards a farmer's house. The old woman is Cathleen Ni Hoolihan, or Erin. The peasants believe that she is an old beggar woman, and they interrogate her about her history. They ask her if she is old, and she replies that she is very old. They ask her if she ever got married, and she says that she did not, but that she has had innumerable lovers who were ready to die for her. The farmer's son is about to marry a peasant girl, but the old woman tells him that he must put away everything to follow her. This plot recalls the sacrifice demanded of the rich young man in the Gospel. Later in the play the bent old woman of the ages, the Erin that was, is transformed into a stately and beautiful queen, the Erin that shall be.

"The Countess Cathleen" deals with a similar topic, but is not so free from objection. "The Countess," or Ireland, is represented as selling her soul to the devil in order to save her children who are starving through famine. One of the

peasants loses confidence in the Blessed Virgin, and crushes her shrine under foot. It is deplorable that Yeats should draw this unfavorable picture of Erin, whom he himself is forced to describe as the "Saint with sapphire eyes," and the "great white lily of the world." It matters little to Yeats if Erin is untrue to her religion for the sake of wealth and prosperity, since he finally represents her as saved through the goodness of her motive. It reminds one of the manner in which Goethe ultimately saves the soul of the old and unrepenting libertine, Faust. The principle that the motive hallows a black deed, or that the end justifies the means come with bad grace from a member of a sect which has often falsely represented a great Catholic order as holding the same tenet. Enough of disfiguring cobwebs have to be brushed from the fair character of Ireland, and there is no necessity for poetic fancy to weave another ideal web misrepresenting the religious genius.

"The Land of Heart's Desire" presents the conflict of Christion and pagan ideals, and gives an interesting insight into the mind of Yeats. A priest, who is introduced into the drama, hides away the crucifix, "the tortured thing" as it is described by a fairy child. Yeats' philosophy is that children must not hear of the sad symbol of their redemption because, forsooth

> **We must be tender with all budding things.**
> **Our Maker let no thought of Calvary**
> **Trouble the morning stars in their first song.**

"The Land of Heart's Desire" is "where nobody gets old and godly and grave." It is the home of the pagan fairies who

> **ride upon the winds**
> **Run on the top of the dishevelled tide**
> **And dance upon the mountains like a flame!**

It is to be found among "the woods and waters and pale lights." In the play the pagan naturalism is made to vanquish Christianity in the person of the priest; in his very presence the soul of one of his flock is spirited away by the fairy child, Christian "gravity," "godliness," and "loneliness of heart"

are exchanged for pagan "merriment." The prophetic words of "a reed of Coolaney" are sympathetically cited at the very end of the play, and are triumphantly echoed by some of the Irish peasants.

> **"The fairies dance in a place apart**
> **Shaking their milk-white arms in the air;**
> **For they hear the wind laugh and murmur and sing**
> **Of a land where even the old are fair,**
> **And even the wise are merry of tongue;**
> **But I heard a reed of Coolaney say,**
> **'When the wind has laughed and murmured and sung**
> **The lonely of heart is withered away.'"**

In this play behold Yeats in his true colours, heartily sympathetic with pagan modes of thought, and all the more insidious because of his undoubted gift of poetry and brilliancy, and his indirect and distant way of preaching his new evangel.

J. M. Synge, who was the colleague of Yeats until death prematurely took him away, is the author of "The Well of Saints." It introduces the reader to an old man and an old woman, both of whom are blind. Before being cured of their blindness, they had the refined joys of a poetical vision. They thought, however, that they would be much happier if they regained their sight. When cured of their blindness by a friar who had the gift of working miracles, they were at once disillusioned. The woman had fondly thought that her husband was another Adonis, and the man had imagined that his wife was a Venus. Each being dissatisfied with the other, they wished to become blind again, and have their old visions. After they had lost their sight for the second time, the friar came to them and wished to cure them, but they refused the proffered gift; they were satisfied with a blindness which saw the grand visions of imagination.

"Ah, it's ourselves had finer sights . . . I'm telling you when we were sitting a while back hearing the birds and bees humming in every weed of the ditch, and when we'd be smelling the sweet, beautiful smell does be rising in the warm nights, when you do hear the swift, flying things racing in the air till we'd be looking up in our minds into a grand sky and

seeing lakes, and big rivers, and fine hills for taking the plough . . . I'm thinking it's a good right ourselves have to be sitting blind, hearing the soft wind turn round the little leaves of Spring, and we not tormenting our souls with the sight of the gray days, and the holy men, and the dirty feet is trampling the world."

The "Well of the Saints" is a typical example of what is best and worst in the productions of Synge. A romanticist and a realist at the same time, he is able to picture high idealism and hideous actuality, for few can see as well as he does the poetry of things as well as their repulsive reality. He sees the grand and the gray in human life. But his perverted and anti-Catholic instincts will be noted in the last sentence where he associates "holy men," such as the friar, with "dirty feet" and "gray days."

As regards "The Playboy of the Western World," which has at least the best-known title of all Synge's plays, the plot cannot be fairly represented unless some attempt is made to give its psychology. The central character is a young man whose life has been rendered miserable by a cross and eccentric father. The old man decides that his youthful Romeo must marry a superannuated Juliet. The son refuses, and his father insists on the sacrifice. He again refuses, and his father saying, "May the Lord have mercy on your soul," attempts to kill him with a scythe, but the son evades the blow, and strikes his father with a log, felling him to the ground. The young man leaves his own locality and, in the west of Ireland, meets some persons who, when told how he killed his father, take a great interest in him. In human nature there is sometimes found a certain admiration for a notorious character. An American dramatic company, who knew this trait of human nature, offered the companion of the murderer Crippen strong inducements to join their corps. In the case of "the playboy" the admiration for him becomes so great that his admirers are represented as vying with one another in bringing him different kinds of food. He gradually grows proud of his parricidal achievement, and, becomes champion of the place,

winning everything in the local games. "He is able to lick the world." The women of the locality like him, and say that they "would not give a thraneen for a man who has not a mighty spirit and a gamey heart." His heart light as air, his imagination brilliant as fire and displaying itself in poetic language, and, above all, his perverted courage are depicted as the magnetic forces of the playboy's personality. There is some distorted courage even in a villain, as not everybody, owing to a kindly dispensation of Providence, could become a Nero. Under the inspiration of a mighty passion of pride, resulting from his having done a "great deed," the playboy is represented as finding himself; he breaks through the narrowing limits imposed by his original shyness, and attempts and performs wonders. In "The Playboy of the Western World" Synge seems to have painted the struggles of his own wild spirit which has been the parricide of older and more reverent forms of art. Towards the end of the play it transpires that the father has not been killed at all and the son tries again to kill him but fails. Those friends of his who now see the actual attempt at murder become disgusted with him and he is rejected by the woman who admired and loved him. The whole drama is a wild extravaganza and must not be treated as a sober and serious picture of life. In accordance with a characteristic bias of Synge, the ordinary "holy" person and the Irish priest, who interferes with a boundless freedom of social intercourse between the sexes, are painted in repulsive colours.

"The Riders to the Sea," and Synge's last work, "Deirdre of the Sorrows" have much poetic and dramatic value, though the latter is stained by some indelicacy in dealing with the sexes. The theme of "The Shadow of the Glen" is marital infidelity; it is based on a story heard from a peasant in the Arran Islands. It contains indirect lewd suggestion, which is almost unavoidable when one stoops to the choice of such a topic. Freedom from burdensome marital ties is set forth in an attractive light.

The plays of this Anglo-Irish dramatic company are often

anti-moral. Yeats in his drama, "Where There is Nothing," speaks of "passions which they (the people) call sins." This dramatic orgy, as well as its counterpart, "The Unicorn from the Stars," with their insistence on the destruction of law, are calculated to cause mental confusion in regard to the moral order. The plays are anti-Christian in tendency. Doubtful passages are made clear from the analogy of works of the authors in prose. In a preface to a composition of Lady Gregory, Yeats wrote à propos of the effect of pagan mythological study: "Ireland (will become) again a holy land as it was before it gave its heart to Greece and Rome and *Judea.*" The plays are anti-clerical,—they exhibit little sympathy for priests. No priests and no "peelers" (or policemen) will be present at the millenium desired of Yeats. Synge's unspeakable "Tinker's Wedding" represents a priest as the butt of the coarsest practical jokes. And if they are anti-moral, anti-clerical, anti-Christian and anti-Catholic, they must be anti-Irish. They are Irish only in translating Gaelic idioms and poetic modes of thought. They abound in such expressions, common in Ireland, as, "We saw him and we walking the road," "and we not tormenting ourselves." There is a certain beautiful glimmer of poetry and mysticism in their plays, and this, too, is true to Irish life. Synge said that some of his best thoughts were found among the peasants, and, instead of the thread-bare words of modern literature, he uses practically none but the living language of the common people. The poetic expression, "May the heavens be his bed," is frequent among the Irish peasants. There is a great deal of mystic symbolism to be found among the ordinary people. When opening a gate they say, "May the gates of Heaven be opened before us," and when lighting lamps, they say, "The light of Heaven to our souls." They have a certain mystical sense of the supernatural in their daily lives, and by the light of this world they see vividly the world to come.

The reason for the serious faults of the Anglo-Irish playwrights is not far to seek. It is difficult to have a revival basing itself to a certain extent on a pagan period without some

being swept from their Christian moorings. During the great Classic renaissance some became so enamoured of pagan models that their Christianity grievously suffered. So is it with the revival of past glories in Ireland. The Anglo-Irish dramatic School of non-Catholics, like Yeats and Synge, offer us some of the pagan rubbish as well as some of the pagan gold. But they compose only a small part of the great Irish renaissance. When the first murmurings were heard of the earthquake revival, which is now stirring Ireland to its foundations, few suspected the magnitude of all the forces that were let loose. People thought that it was to be a mere revival of the ancient language, and, behold! industries began to flourish again. Gaelic novels, literary publications, historical investigation, archaeological research, mythological inquiries give token of some good directions of the movement. And no one can yet foretell its full possibilities. The Anglo-Irish players may have the merit of turning the attention of many lands to this multifarious spiritual activity of Ireland. Not Ireland alone may benefit by this general revival. The world, which in periods of renaissance obtained reasoning from Greece and law from Rome, may once more procure imagination and fire from Celtic sources, as it did in the times of McPherson and of Arthurian legend. This Promethean fire, which is borrowed by Yeats, though in the pale reflection of the English tongue, from the heaven of Irish mythology, is characteristic of Irish writings and oratory, but can find its adequate expression only in a native Gaelic drama and literature.

GARRETT PIERSE.

ST. PAUL SEMINARY.

ST. ANSELM.

The student of history is sometimes inclined to think that epochs, eras and centuries, though they are only arbitrary divisions of time, almost have a personality and an individual power of thought. He knows that he is using figurative language when he says that such and such a century was longing for a leader, that such and such an epoch was brilliant or dull, or conservative, or liberal. He knows that it is the men who live in a certain epoch that think and feel. Nevertheless, he is inclined to attribute collective thought and collective consciousness to a certain group of men who live within the boundary, so to speak, of a certain period of time. The student of the history of philosophy is in a special manner inclined to this view of history. He deals with ideas and tendencies, and they seem to belong less to the individuals within a definite era than to the era itself. Thus, we may say that the century of Gerbert, the tenth, was chiefly concerned with the heritage of the past, and took little thought beyond its own immediate need of that heritage. That heritage had survived, as if by a miracle. Over and over again its transmission had been endangered; the waves of barbarian devastation seemed certain to submerge it. But it was not submerged. Owing to the efforts of men like Bede, Alcuin, Isidore and Rhabanus, it had been preserved. The fragments that were accessible were put together in slipshod, almost haphazard, manner, without literary skill and according to an entirely conventional method of elucidation. The tenth century came into this inheritance with a certain insecurity of tenure, and even when the tenure was made less insecure, the heritage was not catalogued, inventoried and arranged, so to speak, for use and enjoyment. That was the task which the tenth century undertook. By means of logical division and logical definition it put its own house in order; it studied, classified and ar-

ranged what had just come into its possession, and, by the end of the century, it was like the householder who, after days of bewildering chaos, in which all is furniture-van outside and all confusion within, at last sees each piece of furniture in its proper place, heaves a sigh of relief, and feels that he can sit down to his desk and work.

The eleventh century, therefore was in position to begin constructive work. It is not easy to find a general term to describe that constructive effort in all its phases. The word "freedom," strange as it may seem to some, has been suggested. The eleventh century was dominated largely by Norman ideals. It was the Norman spirit of individuality that inspired many of the eleventh century movements; Hildebrand's struggle for freedom of the Church from imperial control, his effort for the ethical uplift of clergy and laity, the Crusader's struggle with the Saracen for the freedom of the Holy Places, and, finally, the effort of the spirit in the movement known as scholastic philosophy to attain freedom of thought. This, to some, may seem a paradox, if not a downright historical misrepresentation. And yet, it is literally true that scholastic philosophy was actuated by the spirit of intellectual freedom. The "Fides quaerens intellectum," "Faith seeking understanding" which is the motto of scholasticism, is the watchword of a kind of knight-errantry of the mind. Faith, as the early Christian writers understood it, and as the scholastics understood it, was necessary to salvation. It was obligatory on every Christian to accept certain truths on the authority of God and the Church. He who accepted those truths was a true believer; he who rejected them was a heretic. But, now the time had come to seek a national foundation for faith. He who believed without trying to understand was as a child compared with him who believed and understood what he believed, as far as it is possible to understand what is above us. The thought was not by any means new. Clement and Origen and others of the Greek Fathers, especially, had used this very comparison. But, now the eleventh century takes the thought up, in its own way. "Fides quaerens intellectum,"

Faith is now in the field like a gallant knight, seeking contest with reason, and hoping by using reason against unbelief to win fresh victories for God. Other centuries had striven to conserve the past and put it in order, the eleventh is "out for" conquest in the realm of truth.

There were many difficulties in the way. First and most serious of all difficulties was the choice of weapons. If battles are to be fought, for God and truth, what weapons shall be used? Some will advocate pious meditation, spiritual intuition, humble acceptance of God's teaching: they are the mystics. Others will be in favor of reasoning, of logic, or dialectic, as it was then called, of argumentation, and disputation; they are the rationalists. In the twelfth century the question will be decided, as we shall see when we come to speak of Abelard. In the eleventh century, some use one weapon, some another; the purpose, even, of the campaign against error and unbelief will not be definitely understood, but the "fight is on," as we say, and it is our purpose in this paper to describe how one very conspicuous fighter, Anselm the monk and Archbishop of Canterbury bore himself in the contest.

Anselm was born at Aosta, in the confines of Lombardy, in the year 1033. Those who attach importance to the influence of environment will be interested in noting that both in his own home and in the scenes amid which he spent his childhood and his youth, the boy Anselm had his mind and his heart trained in the direction in which he afterwards distinguished himself. From his mother he imbibed a spirit of simple faith and ardent piety, and from the sublime scenery by which he was surrounded he was led to thoughts of the exalted greatness of God. A charming anecdote of his childhood years illustrates the influence of both. His mother had often spoken to him of the God "Who dwells on high," and the child had taken the phrase, as children do, all too literally. She had described heaven as the ideal Court, and, in phrases suited to the boy's years, had told him of the angels who minister to the throne, as servitors do in the court of an earthly monarch. Day by day, the child looked up at the mountains wrapped in

eternal snow and ice, until one night the summons came, and in dream he set out to climb the highest of them all in order to reach the heavenly court. There at last, after much difficulty encountered, he came into the presence of the Great King and from the hands of His seneschal received a "bread of exceeding whiteness," which refreshed him and enabled him to return to Aosta. The dream was soon recounted to his mother who saw forthwith that God had set His mark on the child. In the anecdote we see a forecast of Anselm's carer as a thinker; for him, through life, God was to be the greatest and highest reality, and his effort to prove this by argument has earned him a place forever in the history of human thought.

We shall not narrate here the incidents of his public career nor those which concern his choice of a vocation. It is enough to know that from childhood he chose the Church as his portion, and after many extraordinary experiences, went finally to Bec in Normandy, and became a disciple of the great canonist, Langfranc, whom he succeeded first as teacher at Bec, then as Abbot of that monastery, and finally as Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of England. His dealings with William Rufus and with William's successor, Henry, his strenuous defense of the rights of the Church against the aggression of the secular power, belong to general history. They mark a turning-point in the political history of England, and in the history of the Church in general. His unswerving loyalty to his convictions, his courage in the face of tyrannical oppression, his patience in exile, his willing sacrifice of his own comfort and what he valued most, of his peace of mind, made it possible later for those who came after him to solve the same vexed problem both in England and in Germany. We are not specially interested here in these events except in so far as they throw light on the character of the man. We are more concerned with his achievements in the world of thought.

St. Anselm is the typical monk-philosopher. Over all his writings and over all his reasonings there falls the shadow of the cloister, with its peace, its freedom from confusion, its calm, placid detachment from worldly cares and mundane

interests. Not that he was ignorant of the world outside. He had learned much about the pagan past, and without sharing the enthusiasm for the classics which characterizes the humanist, he valued the literature of pagan antiquity because of its perfection of style. This, he contended, the Christian scholar should acquire and use in the service of truth. Neither was he ignorant of the world of his own day. First by family prestige, and later, by reason of his position in the Church, he was brought into contact with the world's greatness and was no stranger to the pomp and picturesqueness of life among the feudal nobility. But, through all his experiences he preserved the simplicity of heart that marked him in childhood; he was unspoiled by the world's artificiality and unsullied by its selfishness. His singleness of purpose, to serve God and the Church, inspired his public career. The same singleness of view characterized his activity as a philosopher. To bring the truth of God within the comprehension of all, to train men to think, and to think not only in harmony with what God had revealed, but in such a way as to believe more firmly and more profoundly—that is the explicit motive of all his philosophical works. He was, then, a typical eleventh century knight-errant in the cause of truth. Not a boisterous, brawling dialectician like Abelard in the twelfth century, who loved a fight better than he loved the truth itself, and as gleefully cracked skulls, figuratively, of course, with the weapons of logic, as ever medieval knight rode with lance at rest and unseated his opponent. Anselm's warfare is the gentle warfare of the spirit, which is compatible with tenderness of heart and almost feminine horror of suffering in any form.

The first of Anselm's great works on philosophy is his soliloquy, entitled "Monologue, or the method by which one may account for his Faith." The very title strikes the keynote of the work. Its aim is to render Faith reasonable. In content and method it follows very closely St. Augustine's line of reasoning. Its central idea is the idea of goodness, and its chief contention that if any good exists there must be a Supreme Good "Whom every creature, with all his strength

should reverently love and lovingly venerate, to Whom alone prosperity is to be attributed, to Whom alone we should have recourse in adversity, and from Whom by supplication we should ask what we need" (Migne, *P. L.*, CLVIII, col. 224). The treatise begins with the consideration of good in general. Some good things are sought because of their utility, others because of their beauty. Among goods of both kinds there are various degrees of excellence; some possess goodness in a lesser, some in a greater degree. But, *where there are degrees of anything, there must be an absolute standard* by which the degrees are judged. This is manifestly Platonic, though it comes to St. Anselm through St. Augustine. The absolute standard of goodness, which is good, not by participation but by essence, is God. Similarly, if we consider greatness, or existence, or any other perfection, we shall be forced to conclude that there is a Supremely Great, a Supreme Existence from Whom all other things are denominated great or existing. This is the main contention, as has been said, of the work entitled *Monologium*. It is candidly and consciously Augustinian. But, does it effectively render faith in God reasonable? Does it convince anyone that God exists? St. Anselm, as he tells us, wrote the work at the request of his brethren, when he was teacher of the school at Bec. Perhaps the brethren were bewildered when they heard the argument in the classroom, and wished to have it, as we say, "in black and white"; they desired to have it in writing, so as to study it more closely. Were they, then, convinced of its force. Evidently not. The argument appeals only to the Platonist already convinced that the fundamental assumption of Platonism is true. Anselm, consequently, did not meet with the success that he hoped for.

Once more, therefore, he set to the task of rendering Faith reasonable. To the *Monologium,* or Soliloquy, he added the *Proslogium* or Address to God, in the form of a prayer. And, as this is his most influential work in philosophy, let us study in detail the circumstances that surrounded its composition. Anselm, as has been said, was dissatisfied with his failure to convince his brethren of the reasonableness of faith. Impelled

by this sense of failure he besought God with prayers and tears to show him one form of argument that would convince even the most dull-witted. The scriptures say: "the fool saith in his heart: there is no God." The philosopher of the cloister is now seeking an argument that will convince even the fool. He is grieved to the heart that there are so many in the world and even among the learned who cannot justify to themselves and others their faith in God, and most of all it grieves him that there are those to whom faith is denied, who know nothing of God, or even go so far as to deny His existence. He prays therefore, for light to see among the reasonings of the philosophers or in the nature of divine existence, one strong, simple, convincing argument that all men will be compelled to accept. Here we have, I think, the heart of the man and the philosopher. No one ever sought more sedulously or searched more keenly for an argument to convince himself than does this philosopher already convinced but desirous as a Christian and a saint to see conviction brought home to others. "I try not, O Lord," he writes, "to reach the inaccessible heights in which thou dost dwell"—perhaps a memory here flits before him of his childhood's dream—"but I desire in some measure to understand the truth of Thee, which my heart already believes and loves. For I seek not to understand in order that I may believe, but rather, believing, that I may understand." Here is Faith seeking Understanding, truth already possessed in the form of belief, seeking reasons to justify itself to the understanding, and in such a way that none can fail to be convinced.

At this point contemporary history takes up the tale. Anselm was at last rewarded by discovering just such an argument as he sought. Overcome with joy, he hastened to write it down in waxen tablets. But when, next day, search was made for the tablets, they had unaccountably disappeared. Again the saint committed the argument to his tablets and gave them in safe keeping to one of his brethren. But, again, when they were wanted, it was found that the wax had been broken into fragments and the argument was illegible. The

next time, he took pen and parchment, gave the argument its permanent form, and, this time, it was not interfered with. A singular story, that to the minds of Anselm's contemporaries suggested the interference of some uncanny force, and is obviously a compliment to the virtue and power for good that the argument possessed. To the modern mind it is a symbol of what happened to the argument at the hands of St. Anselm's critics.

The argument, in spite of the fact that it was intended for the mind of less than average acumen, is not so easily grasped. Perhaps in the eleventh century they were better trained in close reasoning than we are, and more accustomed to concise statement. This is the argument in strict form: "God is that than which nothing greater can be thought. That than which nothing greater can be thought cannot exist in the mind alone, for then the same thing existing outside the mind would be greater. Therefore, God exists, not merely in the mind, as an idea, but also outside the mind, as a reality." The first premise offers no special difficulty, the thought of God is the greatest that the human mind can conceive, or, more correctly, it represents more than any other idea; it represents the greatest perfection in every line of perfection. Goodness is great, but no goodness is greater than the goodness of God. Power is great, but no power is greater than the power of God; wisdom is great, but no wisdom is greater than the wisdom of God. Briefly, God is infinite, and nothing greater than the infinite can be thought. And we, looking back through history since Anselm's day and further back still, before his time, to the very dawn of history, see clearly that, of all the ideas which have moved men and nations the greatest and most potent is the idea of God. But this is not just what Anselm meant. He meant simply that the idea of God represents the maximum of perfection: "God is that than which nothing greater can be thought." Now comes the second premise. "That than which nothing greater can be thought cannot exist in the mind alone, for then the same thing existing outside the mind would be greater." Let us try to grasp this

too. If A exists in the mind alone, then A plus existence outside the mind would be greater than A. Now suppose that A has no greater than itself, then, to say that A exists in the mind alone would be a contradiction in terms, like a square circle or a line that would be straight and not straight at the same time. "That than which nothing greater can be thought" *must* exist outside the mind, otherwise our thought of it would involve a contradiction.

What is to be our estimate of the argument? First, let us see how it fared at the hands of St. Anselm's contemporaries and successors. This time, the brethren at Bec were silent. But from another monastery, that of Marmoutier, came an answer with the curious title "Book in Defense of the Fool." Gaunilo was its author, and the meaning of the title was not far to seek. Anselm, it will be remembered, claimed that his argument would convince even the fool "who saith in his heart: There is no God." Now Gaunilo shows how the fool could answer Anselm and remain unconvinced. The "fool" has, of course, ceased to be a fool, and, like Macaulay's "Schoolboy," is a figure of speech standing for a rather well-equipped opponent of Anselm. The Fool's answer, in substance, is this: existence in the mind is one thing, existence outside the mind is another; from the perfection of that which exists *ideally* in the mind one may argue to conclusions which regard ideal existence, but not to conclusions which have reference to real existence. Good logic, in the mouth of the "fool." But somewhat abstract. Gaunilo, consequently, uses a concrete illustration to make his meaning clear.

He knew that, for long ages past, people had dreamt of an island or a group of islands far out in the ocean, where life was ideally perfect. The "Isles of the Blest," "Atlantis," the "Hesperides," "Hy Brazil," "The Land of Everlasting Youth" were some of the names by which this land was known to the imaginative Greeks and Celts. But, no one had ever reached that land, no traveller had ever come back to tell the story of its real existence. Poets had sung of it, dreamers had dreamt of it, saintly mystics had gone there in

imagination, but no Columbus had as yet laid his course successfully towards that incomparable island. Let us then apply Anselm's argument to this matter: "I have in my mind the idea of a most perfect island. But, a most perfect island, in order to be most perfect, must exist, for if it did not, it would not be most perfect. Therefore such an island exists." You see how convenient is the so-called ontological argument, how it facilitates the task of demonstration and how, moreover, it responds to the longing of our nature for the supremely perfect in every line. But, is Gaunilo quite fair, in his comparison? St. Anselm thinks that he is not. Our philosopher of the cloister did not love controversy. He was for peace in the realm of speculation; but, Gaunilo's criticism demanded an answer. The argument, he says, does not hold except in the case of the Supreme Being, Whom we are not only forced to think of as existing, but Whom we cannot think of as not existing. Your island, no matter how perfect, if it exist, has a contingent existence; one can well think of a world in which such an island does not exist. But no one can think of God as not-existing. This is St. Anselm's last word on the subject, and his adversary, so far as we know, did not return to the criticism of the argument.

St. Anselm's argument, generally called the *ontological* argument to prove the existence of God, has had a different effect on different minds. Some of the later schoolmen, like Alexander of Hales and Duns Scotus accepted it as valid. St. Bonaventure seems to approve it. In modern times Descartes, Leibniz and Hegel renewed it in modified form. Hegel, especially, is enthusiastic about it. He says: "Anselm was right in declaring that only to be perfect which exists not only subjectively but also objectively. In vain we affect to despise this proof, commonly called the ontological, and this definition of the perfect set forth by Anselm: it is inherent in the mind of every unprejudiced man, and reappears in every system of philosophy, though against the knowledge, and even the will, of philosophers, as well as in the principle of direct faith." These are weighty words and not to be set aside lightly or

inconsiderately. The mind of man is mysterious; in spite of what psychology teaches us, we do not know its nature perfectly, and, if there are men, great men, like Hegel, to whom the argument appeals, who will say that it is entirely useless? Nevertheless, from the point of view of strict logic, the argument is invalid. So it appeared to the majority of the schoolmen, especially to St. Thomas, and so it appeared to many modern critics, particularly to Kant, who analyzed the argument very carefully.

St. Thomas finds fault with the argument because it passes from the ideal order to the real order, from the world of *thoughts* to the world of *things,* this transition, he says, being always and everywhere invalid. A definition is never a source of proof of existence, unless we suppose the thing defined to exist, and then we suppose what we undertake to prove. If one were to ask, "What is a centaur?" the answer would be a description or definition of that mythological animal: "A beast, half man half horse," and if one were asked, "What is a tiger?" one would likewise answer by means of the definition: "A tiger is an animal of the genus *felis,* etc." In both cases one is describing the contents of one's own mind, and in neither case does the definition bring us a single step nearer the proof of existence. If you wish to ascertain whether a centaur exists or a tiger exists, you may, indeed, use the definition, but you must go outside the definition to establish the fact of existence. One may not define God, for He is infinite; but in the description of God is included supreme perfection. So far, however, "supreme perfection" is to be understood in the order of ideas or thoughts. Real existence belongs to the order of things. And one may not pass from the one order to the other without being guilty of a fallacy.

It was Kant, perhaps, who brought this out most clearly by a comparison that will be intelligible to everyone. Imagine, he says, the sum of twenty dollars (thalers). Not a difficult feat. Now imagine the sum of thirty dollars. Thirty imaginary dollars is greater than twenty, forty is greater than thirty, and so on, if we think of fifty, sixty, seventy, eighty, ninety,

one hundred, *imaginary* dollars. Each thought is greater, in content, than the one that preceded it, and greater in a definite way, greater by ten imaginary dollars. When you have reached the hundred mark, and are thinking of a hundred imaginary dollars, pass at once to the thought of a hundred *real* dollars. Everyone sees that there is a vast difference. A hundred imaginary dollars represents more than ninety imaginary dollars. But, a hundred real dollars means more than a hundred imaginary dollars, and the "more" has an entirely different meaning. Your idea of a hundred dollars not existing in reality is greater than your idea of ninety dollars not existing in reality. And your idea of a hundred real dollars is greater than your idea of a hundred imaginary dollars, but by greatness of a different kind. The "greatness of an idea," as we call it, is the greatness of its representative content; an idea is "greater" if it represents more.

Let us apply this to our idea of God. "God is that than which nothing greater can be thought." Perfectly true of our idea of God in the order of representation. That idea must represent all perfections. It must represent God as a substance, because substantiality is a perfection. It must represent God as living, because life is a perfection. It must represent God as supremely wise, because wisdom is a perfection. But, must it represent God as really existing? No, because existence is not a perfection of the same kind as substantiality, life and wisdom. To establish real existence as an attribute of God, we must go outside our definition, that is, outside our idea of God, and prove it in some other way.

It is hardly necessary to declare that in attacking a proof one is not attacking the thesis. Many a conclusion otherwise certain is supported by arguments that are invalid. And facts may be adduced to show that St. Anselm's argument, notwithstanding its logical weakness, has had a profound influence on many a philosophical mind. Perhaps his hope has, after all, been realized. If he has not convinced all, he apparently, has convinced some of those who came after him, and even those whom he has not convinced pay tribute to the nobility

of his purpose in seeking out this one incontrovertible argument. The reasoning may seem faulty, but to adverse as well as to friendly critic the heart of the man and the saint speaks in the noble *Allocution* in which Faith seeks reasonable proof, and the goodness of God which all men unconsciously seek, is shown forth in such wise that, so at least the philosopher hopes, all men shall know that it exists. We honor the man who in time of dire distress and famine gives to human beings the bodily food for which they crave, and we call him a benefactor. We honor the revolutionary hero who gives to a downtrodden people the liberty for which they struggle, and we call them a liberator. We honor the man of medical science who, by a life of devotion and many personal sacrifices, puts in the hands of the people a simple remedy against disease and gives them back the health for which they long, and we call him a savior. Anselm, in the simplicity of his piety and the purity of his own life, thought that God is what all men need most, and we should honor the effort he made to bring God home to their minds by an argument the force of which none could resist.

On one question of theology St. Anselm contributed a point of doctrine that made as great an impression among theologians as did this ontological argument among the philosophers. I refer to the question of Atonement, and, although, as a rule we have studied the medieval teachers as philosophers and not as theologians, the present matter is so intimately associated with Anselm's fame as a Master of medieval thought that it cannot be passed over without a word of explanation and comment. The doctrine of Atonement, or Satisfaction, as it is sometimes called, is, in its simplest terms, the fact to which the scriptures so often refer, that Christ reconciled the world to God, that by shedding His blood for our sins, He paid a price by which we were freed. The more technical theological doctrine is the attempt to explain this fact in intelligible terms. The Greek Fathers, as a rule, took the mystical view that, by the union of Divinity with humanity in Christ, all human nature, indeed, all created nature, was lifted up, and in the

large sense of the word, deified. The Latins, generally, and Irenaeus and Augustine in particular, laid stress on the notion that sin is a state of bondage, that, before the coming of Christ, mankind was in a condition of slavery, out of which human souls had to be bought by the price which Christ paid. In the popular conception of this explanation, the devil was the one to whom the price of emancipation was paid, and he was supposed to have some kind of right in the matter until the price was paid. In the writings of some of the theologians the crudeness and the harshness of this idea are softened down considerably, but in others they appear in full force. What St. Anselm did was to go back simply and without any parade of learning to the scriptural notion of satisfaction, that, namely, Divine Justice was outraged by sin and a price should be paid, not to the devil, but to outraged justice itself. This is the essential point; later theologians modified St. Anselm's doctrine in detail, but the main point still remains as the core of Catholic teaching in the matter. Some recent writers have sought to refer St. Anselm's explanation to the German custom by which a criminal instead of undergoing punishment, could make satisfaction to the injured parties by paying a *wergild.* But, the custom was Celtic as well as Teutonic, and so far as theological speculation goes St. Anselm's explanation is more likely to have been suggested by the "sin-offerings" of the Old Testament times, or by the system of ecclesiastical penalties which was present in the Christian Church from the beginning. This is not the place to go any deeper into the matter. It is sufficient to note that in his little treatise on the subject, the curiously titled *Cur Deus Homo?,* St. Anselm introduced an explanation so lucid, so consonant with human notions of right and justice, and so singularly free from the inconveniences of the then current bondage-idea, that his theory was accepted at once and became the starting-point for further elucidation of the mystery. For mystery it is, and to be treated reverently by all, whether they agree with him or not. Like his *Proslogium,* so also, this treatise is an attempt to make Faith reasonable, and to show by symbols that are confessedly

inadequate and by comparisons, which are always defective in some respect, how the mind that thinks can agree with the heart that believes.

This is why St. Anselm is often called the founder of scholasticism. Some prefer to give the honor to Abelard, and still others ascribe it to John the Scot. They all had their share in it. For they were all actuated by the same motive, the hope to make Faith reasonable, to show the harmony between revelation and reason. When we come to speak of St. Thomas of Aquin, who was heir to what these pioneers accomplished, we shall go into the question more in detail and attempt to define the scholastic movement. Meantime, it is our task to try to place Anselm in the position in which he belongs in the history of medieval thought.

The inspiration of all his activity as a thinker was, as has just been said, his belief that the time had come for the contents of Faith to be made reasonable, and therefore acceptable to the thinking mind. St. Augustine had the same conviction in regard to his time. But, the conditions were different. The Latin Europe of the fifth century was different from the Latin Europe of the eleventh. Then there was over all things the shadow of impending decay and ruin. Like the ship that, shivering at the impact of the storm, is said to shudder at the doom that is awaiting her, the pagan world of St. Augustine's day felt a tremor of anticipated disaster and dissolution. There was no vigorous consciousness of present strength for future success. The age was, in a sense, decrepit, and all that the Christian philosopher could advise was to seek refuge in the mystic contemplation of a higher and better world. Platonism was, consequently, the haven of all aspiring spirits, and the last resort of Platonism was not to reason about spiritual truth but to try to grasp it intuitionally. In the eleventh century a new and vigorous race of Christians were beginning to be conscious of new intellectual needs. That consciousness was not very definite as yet, but it was none the less strong. The world of Christianity was Teuton and Celtic as well as Latin. It was full of hope, and full of lusty ac-

tivity. It could be crude, it could be inconsistent, it could be barbaric in its love of sharp contrasts, it could be violent, but it could not bear to be indolent. Even the quiet life of the cloister could not escape the influence of this spirit of strenuosity. On the intellectual side that spirit showed a curious restlessness that was to burst out into lawlessness very soon in the schools of Paris and elsewhere. The restlessness in Anselm's world was kept in check by simple piety and devotion to the Church. But the restlessness was there, and it could not be satisfied by Platonism or any form of mysticism that did not give room for the exercise of reason. Wild animals in captivity will gnaw their cages, because they must find work for the "tooth and claw" with which nature meant that they should find their food. The Norman mind in Anselm's day was in some such predicament. It could not be content with classifying and arranging the heritage of the past: that had been begun in the days of Alcuin and completed in the days of Gerbert. It demanded new and so to speak, *real* exercise for its powers, and Anselm made his attempt to meet the demand.

He did not see the whole subject of truth as his successors did, in the thirteenth century. His view was partial and his task took him over a mere province of the great kingdom of knowledge. And what he did see he saw through the color of his own spiritual temperament. He had, although a Burgundian by race, the true Italian emotionalism of the intellectual kind, the emotionalism which glows to a real white heat. He had not the tearful sentimentality of St. Bernard, nor the gloomy spiritual temperament of the typical German mystic. The more he felt, the clearer became his vision and the firmer his intellectual grasp of the truth. He is, then, the St. Augustine of the eleventh century, but with all the difference that goes with the difference of time. He will not save souls by turning the thoughts inward on one's own spiritual life, or upwards towards the ineffable truth of God. He does not advocate withdrawal from the world of sense and con-

centration on higher truths. He will, as far as he sees his task before him, make the truths which he loves clearer to himself and clearer to others, so that his mind and their minds shall be satisfied, as their hearts are satisfied already. The instrument, as it is called, which he uses, is dialectic, which hitherto has been used in the schools merely for the purpose of arranging and classifying traditional knowledge. Its application to the discovery of new truth and the elucidation of the higher spiritual truths is new. Anselm is not skilled in those uses. He will live to see the dawn of the twelfth century with its "dialectic madness." But, by that time, his work as a philosopher will have been accomplished. As Primate of England he will be involved in a different kind of struggle. The contest between rationalism and mysticism will not interest him so much as that which was waged between the Church and the State.

All his life he dwelt, intellectually, in the heights. This accounts for the serenity of his thought. In the days of his exile from England he was invited by Pope Urban to attend the Council of Bari which was summoned to deal with the difficulties that had arisen between the Greeks and the Latins. "From an elevated seat," we are told, "Anselm began his discourse. He established from Scripture the orthodox doctrine that the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father and the Son, and he spoke with a self-possession, force of argument and power of eloquence that seemed like an inspiration. A deep *Amen* was the one response of the whole assembly, when Urban exclaimed 'Blessed be thy heart and thy understanding, blessed be thy lips and the words that flow from them'" (Hook, *Eccl. Pol.* II, 229). And thus we like to represent him, seated in a high place, above the turmoil of dialectic debate, calmly and dispassionately discoursing of spiritual truth to an age that craved for such food, free from self-consciousness, free from the disturbance of the passions which controversy breeds, apparently emotionless. Yet, under all the calm exterior there glows a fire of spiritual sentiment,

there burns an ardent longing, as glowing as the fire in the heart of a crusader. The monk-philosopher loves the truth and he loves the Faith. He has harmonized those two in his own heart; his life is devoted to the task of showing that harmony to others and establishing it in the hearts of others. In that sense, because he had that feeling, and because he had that desire, he is one of the founders of Scholasticism.

WILLIAM TURNER.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Sermons and Addresses. By His Eminence William Cardinal O'Connell, Archbishop of Boston. Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1911. Three Volumes, pp. 242, 402, 432.

The first of these volumes contains undated Sermons and Addresses, the second contains discourses pronounced during the years 1887-1906 while the author was Assistant Pastor at St. Joseph's Church, Boston, and Bishop of Portland, Maine, and the third is made up of Sermons, Addresses and Pastorals dating from the period 1906-1911, ending with the Pastoral in which the Archbishop announces his elevation to the Cardinalate.

The volumes are, in the first place, a record in which all may read the career of the distinguished author as priest, bishop and archbishop. Through them there runs the revelation of a personality, strong, devoted, loyal, consistent. There is evidence of a steadfastness, an intelligent grasp of fundamentals in church policy, and a broad sympathy with present day conditions, a sympathy which, however does not lead to inconsistency, opportunism or the diminishing by one jot or tittle of the Catholic claims or the demands of Catholic Christianity. The Archbishop who announces to his clergy his elevation by the Holy See to "the sublime Senate of the Pope" has nothing to suppress, nothing to explain away, nothing to apologize for in the sermon on "The Spirit of Christ and the Spirit of the World" which dates from the earliest years of his priesthood. The absoluteness of his fidelity to Catholic doctrine and to the policy of the Holy See is the key to this consistency and may, indeed, be said to be the most distinguishing trait of the author in these volumes.

In the second place, there is here a message clear, forceful, ringing with the note of sincerity, to which the clergy and laity who read cannot but give willing ear. It is the message of a prelate who stands high in the Councils of the Church, and who is at the same time an American devoted to our institutions and conscious of our national aims and aspirations. It is the message,

moreover, of one who has not only felt the call of loyalty to the State as well as to the Church but has also thought out the principles involved and given them intelligent expression. One has only to turn to the discourse on "Thanksgiving Day" (Vol. 1, 225 ff.), "The Church and the Republic," (Vol. 3, 91 ff.), and the various addresses to the Knights of Columbus, in order to realize that here we have a leader who does not speak of "good citizenship" until he has analyzed what good citizenship means, and who, in his analysis has discovered that the essential in patriotism as well as in religion is not sentimental but ethical. "It has been said that *ideas* rule the world. This is not strictly accurate. It is *ideals* by which the world is governed. For ideas are but conceptions, of themselves stationary, inactive. But, when the conception is perfected by birth, when the idea is moved into activity by a power which has embodied it, then alone is there reality, life, action. . . . Individuals form a nation. If the ideals of the nation be for justice and right she will, by the power of God, stand up great and strong upon the earth that God shall give her. Of this let every one be certain; each of us individually contributes to the glory or the shame of the nation to which we belong. Not he alone who sits in power, but he who is the humblest laborer in the land has his share in the making of his country's honor among men; and so, on all rests a responsibility, varying in degree, from which none is exempt." (Vol. 1, pp. 228-279.) This is an excellent definition of patriotism. It is practical. It is Catholic. And it is timely, considering the number of those who imagine that patriotism is restricted to heroism in war and the glorification of the flag in times of peace.

The preacher in search of inspiration and material for his Sunday Sermon will find among the Cardinal's discourses many that will help him by the thoroughness of treatment, the forcefulness and appropriateness of the illustrations, the freshness and vigor of the style. For example "Miracles a Proof of Revelation," "Intemperance," "Confession," "The Unjust Steward," "The Forty Hours' Devotion," "Causes of Irreligion," "Purgatory," etc. The volumes should be in the library of every priest who knows the value of books, and who realizes that in sermon literature the best and the best alone is worth while.

WILLIAM TURNER.

The Medieval Mind. A History of the Development of Thought and Emotion in the Middle Ages. By Henry Osborn Taylor. 2 vols. Pp. xv + 613, viii + 59. Macmillan & Co. $5 net.

In many respects these two volumes represent the high water marks of non-Catholic appreciation of the Middle Ages, as least so far as English-speaking people are concerned. For, we do not know of any work on this subject in English from a non-Catholic source which combines such thorough scholarship with such an honest attempt to do justice to these ages so different from our own and seemingly so difficult of understanding on the part of non-Catholics. The author's sincerity is above suspicion as his equipment for his task is above cavil. He has gone straight to the sources and lets these people of a past age speak for themselves. He admits quite honestly and quite correctly too "he cannot state the facts and sit aloof, impartial between good and ill." An historian is after all human and must judge by his standards given him by his conscience. But, withal, he also gives this so much needed warning to readers that we should honestly endeavor to judge the past in the light of the circumstances affecting the same. "We have to sympathize with their best and understand their lives out of their lives and the conditions in which they were passed." On the whole he himself has succeeded in so estimating the Middle Ages, and has done so because he has grasped this great truth that these ages can only be understood by a "realization of the power and import of Christian Faith" animating them. Only we would substitute "Catholic" for Christian.

But, learned and sincere as the author is, yet even he does not seem to have completely shaken off the old time-dishonored prejudice which here and there mars some of his most agreeable chapters. Here are one or two typical instances selected at random. In the chapter xxv, "The Heart of Heloise," speaking of Heloise's disinclination to marry Abelard after he had corrupted her, on the ground that marriage would injure his worldly prospects, he justifies her attitude with this remarkable statement: "Marriage was holy in the mind of Christ. But it did not preserve its holiness through the centuries which saw the rise of

monasticism and priestly celibacy. . . . The Church sanctioned marriage but hardly lauded it or held it up as a condition in which lives of holiness and purity could be led." Such a statement is nothing short of an outrage upon history. The church not only then as now looked upon marriage as something inexpressibly holy, a Sacrament, but as well taught that a life of holiness was to be expected in that state as in all other states. And, as a matter of fact, she canonized many of that very age who were married people—St. Louis, Elizabeth of Hungary; not to mention such beautiful and holy lives as those of Mabel Rich and Blanche of Castille. It is indeed strange that the most sincere and intelligent non-Catholic seems to be unable to grasp this very simple attitude of the Church, namely, that though a celibate life undertaken for the love of God presents greater means for personal sanctification as a state of life, yet the married life and every other life is *in se* holy, and should be holy and as a matter of fact is holy for millions.

A second typical misunderstanding occurs in the chapter (XVIII, p. 418), on Saint Francis. He says that "he had not taken the Christ handed over by the transition centuries to the early Middle Ages: he had not adopted the Christ of the ecclesiastical hierarchy." Now, really, that is pure twaddle. Francis was, as the author himself admits a few pages further on, a most "obedient and reverent" son of the Church. He was just as plain, simple, undoubting Catholic in the strictest sense of the word as is any simple Catholic in 1912 or one in the days of Augustine or Peter. True, he modelled his life upon a close, direct study of Christ. But surely that is precisely what the Catholic Church wanted every Catholic of his day or our day to do. That is precisely what every Catholic has done or is doing when he kneels in prayer before the Blessed Eucharist or recites the Lord's prayer by his bedside. Why is it that the non-Catholic mind cannot grasp such elementary facts!

There are some omissions which we do not understand. For instance why a chapter was not given to Gregory VII. Surely if any man moulded the thought and emotion of Medieval people at least along religio-political lines, he did so more than any other. His genius is stamped upon them from his day to that of Dante. Similarly it is regrettable that he should not have given some chapters to those splendid women like Elizabeth of Hungary or

Blanche of Castille or Mabel Rich or St. Clare. Such studies would give his readers a much clearer and cleaner idea of a Medieval woman than that disgusting story of Heloise or the legendary romances of Tristan and Lancelot. Lastly, is not the "thought and emotion" of the "average" man just as important a study as that of the more exceptional men? And yet there is hardly more than scattered allusions to what the average man thought and felt—the gildsman, the poor artist, the craftsman, the villager, the cotter.

However, with these faults, which are after all principally faults of interpretation, the work is all in all a most agreeable study of the Middle Ages. It represents, as above said, the high water mark of scholarship and sincerity on the part of the non-Catholic English world. A book like this could not have been written fifty years ago. The fact that it has been written is a most pleasing proof that history has at least made substantial progress towards clearing itself of the ancient religious prejudice towards ages which, with all their faults, possessed so much real grandeur and beauty and good.

LUCIAN JOHNSTON.

Bible Symbols, Designed and Arranged to Familiarize the Child with the Great Events of Bible History, by Rev. Thomas C. Gaffney, D. D. Chicago: J. A. Hartel, 1910. 8vo, 275 pp.

Catechism is not interesting to the average child, but short stories and pictures never fail to arrest his attention. For this reason, the book under review ought to prove to be popular with children. It is well calculated to stimulate their interest in religious things, particularly with some of the striking instances of God's providential dealings with the human race. Each chapter begins with two or three questions with their respective answers taken from the simple catechism and bearing on some important truth, which is then exemplified by some story taken from the Old or New Testament. At the end is a sentence or two, appropriate to the lesson, presented in the form of an illustrated rebus. The key to their decipherment is to be found in the last pages of the book, where the full text of the passages with their page indications is given. The book will be most effective in the hands of the

older members of the family, for whom it will prove a valuable help in the home instruction of the little ones. Most of the stories and Bible texts are well chosen. Perhaps the barbaric story of Sisara could have found a more worthy substitute, one more edifying for the child mind. In a book for children, it were surely better not to give for study the sentence, "For the drunkards and the wenchers shall be brought to poverty," particularly as the objectionable word, "wenchers," is not to be found either in the Douay or the Revised version of Proverbs, 23: 26. Eight beautiful half-tone engravings embellish this useful volume.

CHARLES F. AIKEN.

Jesus All Holy, by Father A. Gallerani, S. J.: Translated from the Italian by F. Loughnan. New York: P. J. Kennedy, 1911. 16mo, 273 pp.

This little book of devotional reading is deserving of commendation. It is suited alike to layman and priest. It consists of sixteen short sermons or meditations on Jesus as our religious model, marked by sound, common-sense piety, and told in simple, direct language. The original Italian has been excellently turned into pure, idiomatic English. This, together with the superior quality of type, and the pretty vignettes that adorn each chapter, make it a very attractive little book of devotional reading.

CHARLES F. AIKEN.

Lamennais; Pages et Pensées Catholiques, Édités par L. Maugin-Enlart. Paris: Bloud et Cie., 1911. 16mo., 202 pp.

One cannot dip into the pages of this little book without feelings of sadness as well as of admiration. For here the genius of Lamennais speaks to us, not in the sullen bitterness of revolt and separation from the Church that marked the late years of his sad life, but in the tenderness, the sympathy, the piety of his earlier faith and devotion to the sacerdotal ideal. These gems of Catholic thought and piety are arranged under eleven heads,—

Practical Philosophy of the Christian Life; Human Misery; Death; Eternity; the Moral Life; Christian Friendship; Spirituality and Asceticism; Church and Christianity; Apologetics; Miscellanies; Prayers. Many of these paragraphs are like sparks struck from the red-hot iron. They reveal a mind of the first order and a priestly heart beating to the noblest aspirations, the tenderest and holiest emotions. Few prayers are more touching, more expressive of confiding devotion to God, to Jesus, and to His blessed mother, than those that are here given from his pen. No wonder that those who knew him best in the days of his Catholic faith did not cease to pray for him after his death, in the fond hope that the merits of his earlier years may have secured for him in his death agony the saving grace of repentance.

CHARLES F. AIKEN.

Dictionnaire Apologétique de la Foi Catholique, sous la Direction de A. D'Alès. Fascicule VII. Paris: C. Beauchesne, 1911.

The seventh part of the new Apologetic Dictionary, constituting the opening pages of the second volume, brings to the reader a number of articles bearing on highly important subjects and treated with the care and breadth of scholarship that they deserve.

In the first article, Georges Goyau gives an excellent historic account of the futile efforts of Protestant writers from Dumoulin to Count von Hoensbroech to fasten on Jesuit teaching the dictum that the end justifies the means. Then follows a masterly exposition of Faith and Fideism, to which the author, the Abbé Bainvel, devotes no less that thirty-six pages. With a rich indication of literature, given at the end of each important division, he sets forth the Catholic doctrine, and refutes the erroneous views of Protestants, Modernists and Rationalists, subjecting their principal arguments and objections to a thorough criticism. Especially timely is his refutation of Sully Prudhomme, whose thesis that Catholic faith involves contradictions has been set forth with more than usual subtlety in his recent work, *La vraie religion selon Pascal.*

The long article on Free Masonry by Gustave Gautherot, professor at the Catholic Institute of Paris, offers a richly documented account of this evasive subject that for thoroughness and trust-

worthiness stands in the front rank. The different solutions of the problem raised by the Gospel terms, the brother, brothers, sisters, of Jesus, are treated in a scholarly manner by Father Durand, S. J. Then follows an erudite study of the famous trial and condemnation of Galileo. This article, to which the author, Pierre de Vergille, devotes twenty-two pages, is destined to supersede all previous accounts by other scholars, for it is based on the Vatican documents of the trial, published for the first time in their integrity in the recent work of A. Favaro, *Galileo e l'Inquisizione,* Firenze, 1907.

Another article of great value and interest is that on Gallicanism, the joint work of two authors, the Abbé Dubruel and the Abbé Arquillière. In this scholarly treatise of forty pages, the antecedents of Gallicanism are carefully traced, and its different phases with their respective forms of condemnation are described. It is a help of great value in the study of the relations of Church and State. In an article of ten pages, Father Brucker, S. J., gives a careful treatment of the main difficulties raised against the historic value of the Book of Genesis, and the Abbé Duchesne follows with an article on Gnosis, describing the chief forms of this heretical teaching, which disturbed the Church of the first few centuries. Few will quarrel with the article on the ground that it is an excerpt from a chapter of his *Histoire ancienne de l'Église,* recently put on the Index; for the passages that gave occasion for the condemnation do not bear on the subject here treated. The closing pages of this excellent number are given to part of Father Neyran's article on Church Government, the completion of which will be found in number eight, soon to be published.

CHARLES F. AIKEN.

MISCELLANEOUS.

An Irish Homily on Confession: Text and Translation.

In the Homily on Poverty printed in the *Bulletin* of last month, we had an example of a loosely constructed composition made up of a series of quotations from writers of authority. There follow immediately in the Rennes MS. two pieces having Confession as their subject, which are given below.That they are of an entirely different character from those which precede is evident at once. For they give in a form which admirably combines succinctness with detail a complete summary of Catholic doctrine on the subject mentioned. The first presents the matter in a theoretical way; the second gives a concrete illustration of the manner in which one should confess his sins. Their completeness and the fulness of detail with which the various points of doctrine are exposed indicate on the part of the author a thorough grasp of his subject. Yet, as far as style and the characteristics of the language used are a trustworthy standard of judgment, we can conclude with reasonable probability that they have the same author as the Homilies on the Passion, the Resurrection, and Poverty already published from the same source.

We see in this Homily additional reason to believe that this manuscript is only a copy and not the original. There was pointed out in the Homily on the Resurrection the strange use of the word *subailchi* where a word similar in appearance would naturally be expected. This Homily presents two more instances of a like confusion of words: in one, *neamda,* "heav-

enly," is found where it is evident that *naemta,* "holy," is the word intended; in the other, we have *catœirib,* "chairs, or seats," where *cataisib,* "vigils," is required by the sense. It is possible, of course, that these errors are due to the first author, but it seems far more likely that they were made by a copyist. There is, besides, the fact that several times the references, though explicit, are erroneous. A mistake in the reference is hardly to be attributed to the carelessness of the original author when the quotation is so accurate as to suppose a first-hand citation of the source mentioned. A copyist, on the contrary, not having made the extract himself, would be more likely to be inexact in such a point.

As to the sources from which the matter contained in this Homily is drawn, it is to be remarked that the initial reference is misleading. In the first place, it is not clear just what is meant by it, unless we take "fifteenth distinction" to be a correction of the preceding "fifth distinction." Besides, it is not certain that *s—r—quartum sumarum* is to be equated with *Quartum Sententiarum Collectum,* the terms in which the title of the *Supplement of the Summa Theologica* refers to the *Commentary on the Fourth Book of the Sentences.* However, no alternative presents itself. But even supposing this correct, Distinction XV of this commentary supplies little if any of the matter sought. It has for its titles, "De Satisfactione, et de Partibus Ejus, de Eleemosyna, de Jejunio, de Oratione." Moreover, the verses referred as containing the sixteen qualities of a good confession are not found there, but in the *Supplement,* Qu. IX, Art. IV, entitled, "Utrum sexdecim conditiones assignatæ requirantur ad confessionem." These lines (which limp, as memory lines are apt to), are given by Saint Thomas not as a key to his presentation of the Catholic doctrine, but merely as summarizing the requirements according to the "Masters."

He accepts them only with reservations, and does not develop the subject according to their order. Here only the fundamental questions concerning the virtue and the sacrament of penance are treated.

The resemblance, however, between our Homily and two of the *Opuscula* is so striking both in thought and in language that it seems impossible not to consider the latter as sources extensively drawn upon. They are entitled "De Modo Confitendi, et Puritate Conscientiæ," and "De Officio Sacerdotis," and in the Roman Edition are numbered LXIV and LXV respectively.

The Irish author, nevertheless, was not a mere translator. He laid the *Summa* under contribution extensively, as might have been shown by references if it had been thought useful, and he threw the whole into a form distinctly his own. His presentation of the doctrine of the Church in regard to Confession is for the most part in accord with Saint Thomas's views. On a few points, however, he diverges. For instance he seems to make satisfaction in the state of grace necessary for the validity of the sacrament, as if it were an essential part, whereas Saint Thomas says clearly that it is only an integral not an essential part. He differs likewise in saying that one who has fulfilled his penance should go directly into heaven, a doctrine not to be found in the *Summa,* though the Angelic Doctor recognizes its possibility in particular cases. The author of the Homily evidently confused the satisfaction required by God for the sins committed, with the satisfaction imposed by the confessor as a part of the sacrament. This view is easily understood considering the gravity and length of the penances imposed at the time when he wrote. It is to be noted here that he speaks of these penances as likely to inspire fear in the penitent.

The author appears to refer to some local ordinance when he says it is a " decree of the canon " that all should confess three times a year. The general law of the Church requires confession once a year ever since the Fourth Council of Lateran, in the year 1215. A century earlier, Gillebert, Bishop of Limerick, wrote a treatise entitled *De Statu Ecclesiæ,* dedicated to the Bishops of Ireland, in the prologue of which he made various recommendations, one being that all should be obliged to confess three times a year, at Easter, Pentecost, and Christmas. Whether or not this recommendation was put into force later, I am unable to ascertain. Some account of the acts of various councils and synods held in Ireland since then, has been found in histories of the Irish Church, but none,—not even those whose biassed tone in regard to Catholic practices, especially confession, would make the reader confidently expect to find such a decree seized upon with avidity and made much of, if it were known to exist,—none even of these make any mention of such a law. Neither is any record of such a canon being decreed in an Irish council to be found in Mansi's *Collection of Councils.* However, the practice existed in various countries long before the date of our text. As early as 506 the Council of Agde, in Gaul, prescribed communion on the three feasts mentioned. According to Bede, (d. 735), it was the custom in his time in England, and the Council of Clovesho, in 747, declared that no one neglecting to receive communion at those times should be considered a Catholic. Similar prescriptions are found in succeeding centuries and in other countries until well into the thirteenth century, some of them later than the Lateran Council. All these enactments imply a preliminary confession. Express recommendation of confession three times a year was made by St. Chrodegang, Bishop of Metz, (c. 760), and by Regino, Abbot of Prüm, (d. 915),

while the practice was made obligatory by the Council of Gran, in Hungary, in 1114. On the other hand, the Council of Enham, in England between 1110 and 1116, commands confession only once a year, at Easter, and certain councils held in Scotland in the time of Queen Margaret, (c. 1076), enacted the same regulation. The recommendation of the Bishop of Limerick cited above shows that the custom had at this same time fallen into desuetude in at least some parts of Ireland, while our text would go to prove that it once more came into vogue, or at any rate the attempt was made to restore it. Further information on this point may possibly throw some light on the date of the present text.

The second treatise on Confession given below was evidently intended to serve as a model of the manner of avowing one's sins, and also as an aid in the examination of conscience. Its scope is not limited to any particular class of persons, for many of the sins alluded to are such as are likely to be committed only by men living amid the temptations of the world, while others apply only to the clergy. It will be noticed especially that the author makes much of the circumstances which may change the species of a sin. Here he follows the *Opuscula* cited above rather closely. There is likewise a striking resemblance in form and in content, though not in the order, to a formula of similar nature in Alcuin's *Liturgica.*[1] It was a common method of examination of conscience then, as now, to follow the order of the seven capital sins. The enumeration of the various senses, and many expressions here and there, recall Alcuin's composition. It is interesting to note that the seven capital sins are given exactly as they would be in a modern treatise of the kind (disregarding the order), whereas in the *Life of Guy of Warwick* edited with a translation by Professor Robin-

[1] *De Psalmorum Usu,* Part II, § IX, Migne, *P. L.* 101, col. 499-500.

son (ch. 34), mention is made of eight. Our text combines the eighth, backbiting, with anger. The *Life of Guy,* by the way, seems by its language to be a good deal older than these Homilies.

On the margin of the manuscript, near the end, a later hand has written the note: "There are few people in Ireland who make their confession as this book says." If the writer thought it a sample confession, his wonder appears quite natural, and finds a response in the mind of every reader. Anyone following the admonition of the preceding treatise to "tell the story without any twisting at all," and acquitting himself of that duty in the fashion of the second, must needs have been a reprobate.

TEXT.

(fo 35b, l. 28) Siad so na sé cuingill dégc dhlighis an-fæisidin do beith indti amail adeir sanctus tomas sa V deisdingtio do-n lebar re-n-abarar sententiarum quartum sum[m]ar [i]um decima qungta testinctione .i. co-fuilitt fersada aici do cruindiugadh an-adbair 7 is-iat so na cuingill sin

An céd cuingill díb .i. an-fæisidin do beith ænda .i. can dublad oir do bod-é a-láidiugadh an-gnim maith do-indisin re cois an pecaig do édtromugadh na mbreath. Ma-seadh na-h-indis an (fo 35c) maith 7 indis an-t-olc mad-áil leat torad do beith ar-t-fæisidin óir tuicenn día in-maith

Oir is-cadh is-fæisidin ann do-rer augustin næm .i. oslucad an tedhma folaighti a-ndóig an leighis o-día 7 tuicter a-h-oslucadh an-tedma nach cóir an-maith do oslucad oir is-run dlegar ar in maith 7 ní-h-ead ar an olc oir is hé ceilt an pecaig can-a-nochtad do-n-t-sacart 7 admail na-maithesa a-cheilt co maith

An dara cuingill .i. a-beith umal .i. do-truaidhi 7 t-eslainti do-admail do-rún craidhi 7 maithmidhi do-iarraid do-torad trocaire 7 ní do-torad cirt as do-maith fein iarfair hí

An-tres cuingill .i. a-beith glan díreach co-día .i. anscél do-indisin can cam ar-domhan

An IIII cuingill .i. a-beith tairisi .i. tairisi do beith acatt as-do-tigerna co-maithfidh do-pecad duit ar-druim na-trocaire 7 na-toirrsi sin 7 sin co maith do creidim mar creidfir cach artecal ele sa cré co-h-immlæn direach

An V cuingill .i. a-beith com-menic ris-an-cin oir toirrsigter an-diabal sa-fæisidin menic 7 bith a-fis acatt co-fuilitt IIII cáis in-a-b-eicen duit an-pecad do-fæisidin arís.

An céd chás díb .i. an-tan nach bí cumachta ac-an céd oidi ort .i. ar-a-beith coindelbaidti nó bean co-follas do beith aici.

An dara cas .i. an-uair nach-col do-n céd oidi itirdealbadh na-mbreath na-na-pecad co-cóir

An tres cas .i. an-uair do-facaib duine pecad marbta co-fesach can indisin ní fodhann can an-pecad sin 7 na-pecaid ele do-indisin aris

An IIII cás ma-do-tarcaisnighis do breithemnas can a-comlínad is eicen duit na pecaig cédna do-fæsidin aris 7 bith a-fis acat nach eicen duit na-pecaid do-fæisidin (fo 35d) aris acht is-na-

TRANSLATION.

These are the sixteen conditions that ought to be found in Confession, as Saint Thomas says in the fifth distinction of the book called the Fourth Commentary on the Sentences, fifteenth distinction, namely, where he has verses to summarize the matter.[1] And these are those conditions.

The first of the conditions: namely, that the confession be simple,[2] that is, without concealment; for it would be equivalent to diminishing the sin to tell one's good deeds along with it, in order to lighten the penance. So tell not the good, but tell the evil if thou wishest thy confession to be fruitful, for God understands the good. For according to Saint Augustine,[3] confession consists in revealing the hidden plague in the hope of its being cured by God; and one understands by the revelation of the plague that it is not proper to reveal one's good deeds, for one's good deeds should be kept secret, but not the evil, for not to reveal the sin to the priest is to conceal it, and to confess one's good deeds is to conceal it as well.

The second condition: namely, to be humble;[4] that is, to admit thy misery and thy weakness from the inclination of the heart, and to ask forgiveness on the score of mercy; and it is not on the score of justice, as owing to thine own goodness, that thou shalt ask it.

The third condition: namely, to be sincere[5] and straightforward with God; that is, to tell the story without any twisting at all.

The fourth condition: namely, to be confident;[6] that is, to have confidence in thy Lord, that He will forgive thee thy sin by reason of His mercy and that contrition; and to believe that also, as thou dost believe every other article in the creed entirely and sincerely.

The fifth condition: namely, to be as frequent[7] as the guilt;

[1] "Sit simplex, humilis confessio, pura, fidelis,
Atque frequens, nuda, discreta, libens, verecunda,
Integra, secreta, lacrymabilis, accelerata,
Fortis, et accusans, et sit parere parata."

This order is followed in the Homily.

[2] This corresponds to "simplex" in the verses above.

[3] Cited by Saint Thomas, *Supplement*, Qu. VII, Art. I.

[4] That is, "humilis."

[5] "Pura."

[6] "Fidelis."

[7] "Frequens."

casaib sin cided ni-budh misti *duit* an-t-*æn*-pecad do-fæisidi*n* co-m*e*nic 7 do-bo-fea*r*rdi co-mór. an

An VI*madh* cu*ingill* .i. can a-be*i*th dorcha a*r*-ecla na*ch* tuicf*edh* an-sacar*t* hí do-leiges na-locht

An VII*madh* *cuingill* .i. a-be*i*th deiscribide*ch* oir is-*eadh* is deiscribidi di .i. an-peac*ad* mór do-*in*disin maill*e*-re-h-eri mór 7 a-díl deire do *cur* a*r* ca*ch* æn-pec*ad* ele o-sin amach. an VII (*sic*)

An VIII*madh*[1] *cuingill* .i. a-be*i*th toilemail .i. can ní ele do-t-ch*ur* do-atmail do-pe*cad* *acht* gra*d* día 7 toil na-h-aitr*ech*

An IX*madh* *cuingill* .i. a-be*i*th nai*r*each 7 can lúthgai*r* do dena*m* a-pecad 7 can-a-atmail do-*cum* di*m*æinis do-dena*m* oir is-é dubl*adh* an-pecaigh bogách*us* do dena*m* as do *cum* di*m*æinis. Mas-*seadh* na-féch do-nai*re* óir is-é an-díab*al* ben*us* do-nai*re* dít ac-dena*m* an-pe*caid* tic atr*at* 7 an-fæisidi*n* 7 ata cungn*am* mór acat an-ag*aidh* na-nai*re* sin .e. m*ar* na*ch* cui*m* nigen*n* día an-pecad do-níte*r* do-fæisidi*n* ní cui*m*nighenn an-sac*art* s-n-lath*air* sin a*m*ach hé 7 *cuim*nidh an-ag*aidh* do nai*re* a-m*ét* tógus sí p*u*rgatóir dít 7 cui*m*nidh fós an-ní na*ch*-ail leat do-leicen ris-an-sacart a-b*us* cura-beicen d*uit* a-leicen risa-fiadni na-t*r*i slúadh 7 can-do rad d*uit* d-a-chi*n*d 7 beir fein rogha dib sin 7 narab-é an-díga do-rogha. óir ni fagt*ar* maitheam an-pecaig can-an-fæisidi*n* do dena*m* da-faght*ar* hí 7 muna-fag*ar* rú*n* a-den*mus*[*a*] do be*i*th agat

An X*madh* *cuingill* .i. a-be*i*th imlán óir is-aml*aidh* dleg*ar* an fæisidin do dena*m* .i. na-pec*aid* uile do-*in*disin .i. a-fuil a*r*-cuim-n*edh* acat díb óir ní feirdi d*uit* *céd* pecad marbta do-*in*disin 7 æn pecad do facbail co-fesa*ch* d*uit* 7 muna-rab cui*m*ne agat air ní-millen*n* an-fæisidi*n* *acht* co-n-*in*disir m*ar* cui*m*neoch*air* hé 7 mona-cui*m*nigh*t*ea choidchi do-rach*adh* lát co-marthanach can-dígail

(fo 36a) Ad*eir* an-do*chtuir* co l*eighis*en*n* caithem *cuir*p Chri*st* na-pe*caid* marbtha atá ort can-fis d*uit* fe*in* na-do-*n*-t-sacart

An XI*madh* *cuingill* .i. a-be*i*th folaigtech ac-co*m*all a-br*eithe* 7 Masa-pecad cosa*ir*d do-nit*er* a*n*n dleg*ar* an-aitr*i*gi do-faicsin 7 ní-m*ar*-glóir s*in* *acht* m*ar*-eisi*m*plair

An XII *cuingill* .i. a-be*i*th dír*ech* o-toil an-cr*a*idi óir is a-ndé*r*aib an cr*a*idhi atá maithem an-pecaig 7 fæisidi*n* do dena*m* ri-san-oidi *cuir*fes leorgni*m* ort 7 maithf*idh* día pían if*irn*n d*uit* a*r*-so*n* do-toirrsi óir *in*dtaigt*er* pian if*irn*a d*uit* a-pe*in* an-t-sæg*ail*

[1] MS. has VII with I added below the line.

for the devil is wearied by frequent confession. And know that there are four cases when it is necessary for thee to confess the sin again. The first case: namely, when the first confessor has no jurisdiction over thee, namely, because he is excommunicated, or is notoriously living in concubinage. The second case: namely, when the first confessor has not the necessary knowledge to distinguish properly the penances nor the sins. The third case: namely, when a person knowingly omitted telling a mortal sin, nothing suffices but to tell that sin and the other sins again. The fourth case: if thou hast rejected the penance and hast not fulfilled it, thou must confess the same sins again. And know that it is not necessary for thee to confess thy sins a second time except in those cases, although it would be no harm for thee to confess the same sin frequently, and it would be much better.

The sixth condition: namely, not to be obscure,[8] for fear the priest might not understand it, in order to remedy its defects.

The seventh condition: namely, to be discreet;[9] for discretion, in this matter, consists in telling a great sin with great care, and in defining sufficiently every other sin from that on.

The eighth condition: namely, to be voluntary;[10] that is, that nothing should induce thee to confess thy sin but the love of God and the will of the Fathers.[11]

The ninth condition: namely, to be shamefast,[12] and not to rejoice in one's sin, and not to confess it for pastime; for it doubles the sin to make light of it for the sake of pastime. Therefore consider not thy shame, for it is the devil, who takes thy shame from thee when committing the sin, who comes between thee and confession. And thou hast great assistance in conquering that shame, in that, as God does not remember the sin that is confessed, the priest likewise does not remember it outside of that place. And remember, to overcome thy shame, how much of the pain of Purgatory it takes away from thee; and remember, too, that what thou dost not wish to make known to the priest in this world, thou must make known in the presence of the three hosts, and with nothing to say in defence thereof; and take thine own choice of those things, and may thy choice not be the worst thing. For forgive-

[8] "Nuda." [9] "Discreta."
[10] "Libens."
[11] The law of the Church, enacted in her councils.
[12] "Verecunda."

cid hé i*f*i*rnn* do-dlighis do-faghb*ail* ar-cind do-torrsi 7 da-com-línai*r* an-pen*n*aitt sin re-n-ecc do-reir aithne an-oitti f*æisidi* is coir d*u*it dol a-fl*a*th*amnus* can p*u*rgatóir 7 da-rab cuid do-n-pen*n*ait sin can íc *nó* hí uile is-*éi*cen sin do-glan*a*d a-p*u*rgatóir re ndol a-fl*a*th*amnus* o-n*a*ch eid*ir* sal do-br*eith* an*n*. Ma

Mas-s*eadh* bíd m*a*rtanach at c*éd* toirrsi 7 na-c*uir* p*e*cad ele a-cen*n* an c*éd* p*e*caigh nó co-n-íca*ir* do-br*eith*emn*us* óir da-cuirir do chuaidh t-fæisidi*n* do díth ort óir ní-bud-f*e*rrdi d*u*it an-íc 7 æn-p*e*cad m*a*rbta can íc ort *acht* muna-bfuil f*æisidin* núa 7 aitr*i*gi nua acatt a*r*-so*n* do-p*e*caidh óir is-an*n* aisict*er* do lorgni*m* d*u*it an-ua*ir* do-fácaib com*a*rtha ort m*a*r atá treigen*us* do-t*r*uadug*adh* do c*u*irp nó almsana do-laidiug*adh* do-maithesa sægalta 7 ní-fuid*ir* aisicc an chena n*a*r-fac*aib* na com*a*rtaid*h*i sin ort. Oir an-gni*m* ruccadh béo 7 fua*ir* bás le p*e*cad m*a*rbtha ticc ana*m* ann arís o-n-aithridhi f*oir*fi.

An XIII c*u*ingill .i. a-b*eith* luath can cairdi *acht* m*a*r do geb*air* an-toirrsi 7 an-t-oiti 7 bith a-fis acat co-foghnann rún na-fæisidi d*u*it *acht* a-dá-cásaib

An c*éd* cás díb .i. mad-ail leat corp Chr*ist* do caithem ní-foghnann a-rún d*u*it 7 can hí fein do-fag*bhail acht* mona-bfuil gúas*acht* báis ort.

An II cás .i. a-ngúas*acht* an-báis muna-f*éttar* an-fæisidi*n* do den*am* ní-da*m*ant*ar* tú *acht* co-mbía (fo 36b) rún a-denm*us*a acatt 7 do-toirrsi *ar* bun 7 na f*u*irid re-bliad*ain* hí oir atá a-n-aithne na canoine 7 na-h-*e*cailsi næim[*e*] da-c*ach* cr*ist*aidhi a-fæisidi*n* do den*am* fo-tr*í* sa-bl*iadain* 7 c*o*rp cr*ist* do caithem 7 cuimnidh com*air*le an-doct*uir* næmta ac-f*ur*aileam na-fæisidi com-meinic ris an ci*n* ar-*e*cla nach bertha uirre arís can-bás.

An XIIII c*u*ingill .i. a-b*eith* laid*ir* can-féch*ain* do-toil an c*u*irp oir atat míana an-c*u*irp ac-cathug*adh* an-ag*aidh* an-an*m*a c*u*rab-*air*e sin n*ach* f*ur*ail t*r*eisi spiratalta *do* cungn*am* leis an-resún .i. le-toil na-h-anma 7

Ad*eir* an-doch*tuir* n*æm*tha c*u*rab-iatt so na-neith*e* le-mbacann an díab*al* an-fæisidi*n* do den*am* .i. an-naire *ar*-t*us* 7 cuimnidh an-ag*aidh* na-naire si*n* in-l*eighes* adub*art* sa c*éd* c*u*ingill

An II ní gell*us* an-diab*al* d*u*it .i. sæg*al* fatta 7 cuimn*idh* an tí geall*us* sin d*u*it n*ach*-fuil sé aici duit

Oir ad*eir* au*gustin* n*ach*-fuil ní is-n*em*-cindti na-ua*ir* an-bais 7 n*ach*-fuil ní is cindti na-an-bás fein. Mas-s*eadh* na-fuirigh an f*æisidin* 7 na-creitt an-geall*adh* sin

ness of sin is not obtained without confession, if there is opportunity for it. And if it is impossible, thou must have the purpose of confessing.

The tenth condition: namely, to be complete;[13] for it is thus the confession should be made, namely, by telling all the sins, that is, as many as thou rememberest of them. For thou art no better for telling a hundred mortal sins and omitting one sin knowingly. But if thou dost not remember it, it does not spoil thy confession, provided thou tellest it when thou rememberest it; and if thou shouldst never remember it, it would go with thee forever without punishment. The Doctor says that partaking of the Body of Christ heals the mortal sins that are upon thee but unknown to thyself or to the priest.

The eleventh condition: namely, to be secret[14] in fulfilling one's penance. But if it is a sin that has been committed publicly, the penance should be seen, and that not for vainglory, but as an example.

The twelfth condition: namely, to proceed straight from the desire of the heart;[15] for the forgiveness of sin is in the tears of the heart, and in avowing it to the confessor, who will bind thee to satisfaction, and God will remit to thee the pains of hell because of thy contrition, for although it is hell thou oughtest to get, the pains of hell are commuted for thee to a temporal punishment because of thy sorrow; and if that penance is fulfilled before death according to the command of the confessor, then shouldst thou deserve to go into heaven without Purgatory; and if thou shouldst have a part of that penance unfulfilled, or the whole of it, that must be cleansed in Purgatory before going into heaven, since it is impossible to bring any defilement therein. Therefore be stedfast in thy first sorrow, and add not another sin to the first before thou fulfillest thy penance. For if thou dost, the good of thy confession has been lost, for thou art no better off for the healing if there is one mortal sin on thee without healing,[16] unless thou renewest thy confession and thy contrition for thy sin. For it is in this way thy satisfaction is rendered, namely, when it has left an impression

[13] "Integra." [14] "Secreta."

[15] "Lacrymabilis."

[16] It is impossible to say whether this word, occurring twice in this sentence, should be translated "healing" or "satisfaction, payment"; for *ic* in the text has both meanings. Just above it has the latter sense.

Andara (*sic*) ní *fuiri*ges hí .i. *ec*la na-mbreath aitr*i*gi 7 cui*m*nid an-ag*aidh* na-h-*ec*la sin ca*ch*-bre*ith* da-truma beires *in* t-oidi ort a-b*us* cu*r*ab so-íca hí ac-fech*ain* na-br*eath* tall

Is sí eisimpla*ir* do-b*eir* an doct*uir* a*r*-an-rád si*n* .i. simind 7 sliab .i. do-rogha d*uit* dib re-n-imchur 7 is-í an-simi*n*d re-h-imch*ur* .i. na-bre*ath*a aitr*i*gi 7 is hé an-sliab .i. pian i*f*i*r*n*n* tall do-dith i*m*ch*uir* na-*m*br*eath* a*itrigi*

An IIII ní bac*us* an-fæisidi*n* o-n diab*al* . . .[2] 7 cui*m*n*idh*-si n-a-ag*aidh* sin co-n-aba*ir* an-do*chtuir* co-fuilitt da-cuirt a*nn* .i. cuirt a-ndent*ar* an coir .i. in ecl*ais* tall 7 cuirt na-tr*o*ca*ire* .i. *in*-eclais a-bus

Mas-*seadh* an cuirt a-ndent*ar* an t*r*ocai*r*i .i. an-ecl*ais* a-b*us* sir an-toi*r*rsi i*n*dti do-fag*bhail* maithmidhi 7 *gras* a*r*-so*n* do pecaid 7 muna-fag*air* an-toirrsi 7 muna-d*er*na*ir* an *fæisidin* a*r*-a-d*r*uim na-bíd dóig acat a-t*r*oca*ire* día

Mas-*seadh* a*r* g*r*ad día cath*uigh* an-ag*aidh* toile na-colla mad-áil leat búaidh do breith o-t-naimbdib. a*n*

(fo 36c) An V cuingill X. .i. bí cosaide*ch* ort fein 7 na-bí a*r*-duine ele 7 da-tecm*ad* co-mbenf*ad* cuid do-t-pecad re dui*n*e ele na-no*cht* a-ain*m* na-a-slo*in*ded na-com*a*rta as-a-n-aitheontaidhi hé 7 da-nd*er*na*ir* do-mill torad t-fæisidi co-leir

An VI cuing*ill* X .i. do-run do-b*eith* ullam do-c*um* do-br*eith*emnais do-fulang oir muna-rab ní bía t*a*rba sa-fæisidi cideadh dam*b*e*it* *in* rún ullam 7 na*ch* *féttar* na-bre*ath*a do-fulang mi millen*n* t-fæisidi*n* 7 cided ícfa*ir* a-p*ur*gatoir ca*ch* br*eith* na*ch* ícfa*ir* a-b*us*. Finit.

* * * * * * *

(Fo 36c, l. 12) Do-n fæisidin b*éus* .i. a-oidi 7 a-atha*ir* *in*mai*n* *in*disim mo cha*ir* do día 7 dib-si ar-mo-pecaib fein co-h-i*m*lan 7 co-h-a*ir*idhti ar-na-pectaib do-ron*us* t*ar* éis m-fæisidi fa d*er*ed 7 do *céd* neith*ibh* na*ch* d*er*na an-fæisidi co-h-i*m*lan ama*il* do-dlighfi*n*d 7 na*r* comlín*us* co-dut*r*a*ch*tach na bre*th*a do cenglad di*m* 7 na*r* coi*métus* mé fein ar-na-pecaib *céd*na m*ar* do-*fét*faind 7 m*ar* do dlighfi*n*d 7 is a*r*-na-h-adb*ar*aib sin indisim mo chair do día 7 díb-si a-athair *in*mai*n*

Ar-*tús* *in*disi*m* mo cai*r* do-na-pecaib m*ar*btha co-*foirlethan* 7 an-a-ngneth*ibh* co-h-i*m*lan 7 ma-do-chintaigeas an-æn-pecad díb do beirim mé fein tar ceand mo-chaire do día 7 d-a math*air*

[2] *Sic* MS. Probably *an-t-édócas* is omitted.

on thee, such as fasting for the mortification of the body, or almsgiving to lessen thy worldly goods, and nothing is gained by satisfying for the fault unless those signs are left on thee. For the deed that was born alive, and died through mortal sin, receives its soul again through contrition.

The thirteenth condition: namely, to be prompt,[17] without delay, but according as contrition and a confessor is obtained. And know that the desire of confession suffices for thee except in two cases. The first of these cases: namely, if thou wishest to receive the Body of Christ, the desire of confession does not suffice without (obtaining) confession itself, unless thou art in danger of death. The second case: namely, in the danger of death, if thou canst not make thy confession, thou art not damned, provided thou hast the desire to make it, and thou hast contrition. Do not delay it for a year, for it is a decree of the canon and of the Holy Church to every Christian, to make his confession three times a year, and to receive the Body of Christ. And remember the advice of the holy Doctor, ordering confession as frequent as the sin, for fear one might not be able to obtain it again before death.

The fourteenth condition: namely, to be strong,[18] without regarding the will of the body. For the desires of the body are fighting against the soul, so that there is need of spiritual strength to aid the reason, that is, the will of the soul. The holy Doctor says that these are the things by which the devil prevents one from confessing; namely, first, shame. And remember against that shame the remedy I mentioned in the first condition. The second thing the devil promises thee is long life; and remember that the one who promises thee that, has it not to give thee. For Augustus says that nothing is more uncertain than the hour of death, and that there is nothing more certain than death itself. So do not delay confession, and do not believe that promise. The third[19] thing that delays it: namely, fear of the penance; and remember against that fear, that every judgment, however hard, that the confessor imposes upon thee in this world is easily fulfilled compared with the judgments of the next world. The illustration the Doctor gives for this statement is a rush and a mountain; that is, thou hast thy choice of these to carry. The rush to be carried is the sacramental penance, and the mountain is the pain of hell in the next world,

[17] "Accelerata." [18] "Fortis."
[19] MS. has *dara*, "second."

Do céd neithib indisim mo chair ar-an-dimus óir ataim dimsach co-mór ac-am-tocbail fein ós na-dæinib ele ac-sanntugadh m-anoraigti 7 mo-molta o-m-dæinib fein 7 o-dæinib ele 7 ac denam dimais as-mo-nert 7 as-m-óici 7 as-mo-slainti 7 a-subalcaibh[3] nachfuil indam .i. ac-am-foillsiugadh fein do-beith umhal genmnaidh craidbtech gen co-bim 7 do-beirim tathæir ar-dæinib ele 7 ní-h-áil leam mo-thathair o cach 7 is-mó de chim pecad cáich 7 brethnaigim iatt na-mo pecad fein 7 ní-fuilim umal do día na-do-duine amail do dlighfind 7 is ar-na-h-adbaraib sin (fo 33d) indisim mo chair do día 7 dæib-si sa-pecad sin

Do-n-tnúth indisim mo chair oir do-ronus tnuth co-menic ac-tnuth re-slainti 7 re h-oici 7 re socraidecht na-ndæine ele 7 ac-tnuth re-h-anoir 7 re-degelú na-adæine ele 7 is-mo-forbfailtigim do-míclú mo-comarsan na-d-a-degelú 7 ar-na-h-adbaraib sin indisim mo chair do día 7 dæib-si in cach gne a-fuil in pecad sin.

Do-n fergc indisim mo chair oir ataim fergach co mór ac fergugadh co h-écoir an-agaidh cach æn duine itir cleirech is-tuata 7 ac-míclú na-ndæine re-mbí ferg acam 7 ac-a-n-ithimrád mar nach dlighfind 7 ac-tabairt uilc an-agaidh uilc doib 7 congmaim cennaraic an-agaidh mo-comarsan co-menic 7 ní-maithim doib antandligedh do níd dam mar do dlighfind 7 ar-na-h-adbaraib sin 7 ar-cach uile gné d-a-fuil ar-an pecad so indisim mo chair do día 7 dæib-si. do-n

Do-n-leisci indisim mo chair oir ataim lesgc do-cum na-ndegoibrighti 7 lúath laidir do-cum-na n-oibrech ndimoin .i. lescc do-cum-na-h-urnaidhti 7 do cum-an cradbaidh 7 luath do-cum óil 7 caithme 7 cach uile dimóinis 7 ní sæthrighim co corparda na-co-spiratalta mar do dlighfind 7 mar do fétfaind 7 ar-na-h-abaraib sin indisim mo cair do día 7 dib-si

Do-n saint indisim mo cair oir ataim sanntach do-cum gach æn ní aimsirda .i. ac-sanntugadh óir 7 airgit 7 étaigh 7 cach-maithesa sægalta ar cheana cid b-é cor as-a-fuidhind iatt oir do-nim slidhti seacranacha d-a-fagbhail 7 is-mór mo doilges im-na-neithibh bís acam do dol uaim 7 is-mó smuainim na-neithe aimsirda na-mo-día fein 7 ar-na-h-adbaraib sin indisim mo chair do día 7 díb-si an cach gne d-a-fuil ar an pecad so 7 an-a-casanaib co-foirlethan

Do-n craes indisim mo chair oir ataim craesach co-mór ac-am dortad fein ar gach uile bíadh can modh ac-a-caithem 7 ac ól

[3] MS. has *t* for *c*.

[to be borne] for want of undergoing the sacramental penance. The fourth thing that hinders confession through the devil is ————; [20] and remember, against that, that the Doctor says that there are two courts, the court in which justice is done, namely, the Church in the next world, and the court of mercy, namely, the Church on earth. Therefore pray [God] for contrition in the court where mercy is shown, namely, in the Church on earth, so as to obtain pardon and grace for thy sin, and unless thou obtainest contrition, and unless thou makest thy confession through it, hope not for the mercy of God. Therefore, for the love of God, fight against the will of the flesh if thou wishest to conquer thine enemies.

The fifteenth condition: namely, accuse thyself and not anyone else;[21] and if it should happen that part of thy sin should have to do with another person, do not reveal his name or his surname, nor any sign by which he might be recognized; and if thou doest that, it has destroyed the fruit of thy confession altogether.

The sixteenth condition: namely, to be resolved [22] to undergo thy penance; for unless thou art, there is no profit in the confession, although if thou hast the intention, and it is impossible to undergo the penance, it does not spoil thy confession, and, anyhow, thou wilt satisfy in Purgatory every penance thou dost not satisfy in this world. FINIT.

* * * * * * * *

Further in regard to Confession,—to wit:—Dear Father Confessor, I declare my fault to God and to you for my own sins in general, and especially for the sins I have committed since my last confession; and in the first place, that I did not make my confession completely as I ought, and that I did not fulfill faithfully the penance imposed on me, and that I did not guard myself against the same sins as I might have done and ought to do; and for those reasons I declare my fault to God and to you, dear Father.

To begin with, I declare my fault in regard to mortal sins, in general and in all their kinds, and if I became guilty of any of these sins, I give myself to God and to His Mother, because of my fault.

[20] Probably "despair" is the word intended.
[21] "Accusans." [22] "Parere parata."

(fo 37a) Do-n-craes indisim mo chair oir ataim craesach co-mór ac-am-dortad fein ar-cach-uile-biadh can-modh 7 ac-ól co-h-imarcrach mar-nach dlighfind 7 ní-traethim mo-thoil co-ríaghalta acht gradh mór acam ac-a-tabairt do-bíadhaib a-corgusaib 7 a-catæirib [4] na-næm 7 ní-bím buidech o-becan sásaidh 7 an-uair bim lán do-bíadh 7 do digh bim ullam do cum uilc do denam 7 leasc do-cum maitheas 7 is-ar-na-h-adbaraib sin 7 ar-cach uile gné d-a-fuil ar-an-pecad so indisim mo cair do-día 7 díb-si.

Do-n druis indisim mo cair óir ataim druith ac-sanntugadh na-mban tar-an modh cóir do cindtugadh ríu da-fétaind 7 do-ním frichnum mór do briathraib 7 do-gnim do denam pecaig co-mígenmnaid ríu 7 ní-fechaim do cinel ban tar-a-cheile mar-atait ogha nó caillecha diadha nó mná fer pósta nó-mná do dealba nó mná do-druim uird écin 7 ní-fechaim do inat na-d-aimsir d-a-h-uaisle doib mar-ata fiadni dæine nó-tempul nó-relicc inaid-domnaidhe nó-saire cengailti na-h-ecailsi 7 ataim truaillighti o-aislingib collaidhi na-h-aidhchi ó smuained an-pecaig sin 7 ar-na-[h-a]dbaraib sin 7 ar cach uile gné do-n-pecad sin indisim mo cair do día 7 díb-si

Do-na-h-ocht cairib collaidhi indisim mo chair 7 an-gach uile gné a-faicenn día mo chin indtu co-foirlethan 7 co-h-airighti ann-sa-snimchi 7 and sa torrsi 7 ann sa maidhmidhi oir dublann sí cach uile peacad co-h-imlan.

Do-na V cédfadhaib corpda indisim mo chair óir ní coimétaim iad amail do dlighfind 7 co-h-airigti mo-bél oir-labraim briatra dimæine so-tarcaisnighti co-menic 7 do-nim ithimrád menic ar cléirchibh 7 ar túatadaib 7 ar cach lucht uird ar-cheana 7 ní congmaim an-modh do dlighfind do congmail ar-mo-tengaidh 7 bí frichnam iarata acam (fo 37b) ar-blasandaib maithe 7 ar bíadh 7 ar digh

Do-n-eistecht indisim mo cair óir is urusa lium briatra dimæine do-eistecht 7 is-mó tsanntaigim briatra docraidhi tathæireacha do eistecht na-briatra do rachadh a-tarba dam a-leth re día

Do-n radarc indisim mo cair óir féchaim neihce sægalta maille re gradh 7 re-saint a-fagbhála ac-fechain ban co-frichnamach maille re smuaintigtib dimæine 7 ní congmaim mo-radarc co-maith o-neichibh dimæine an-tsægail ar-a-ta[ng]maim a-buss.

[4] Evidently an error for *cataisib*, which is translated. The word given means "seats."

In the first place, I declare my fault in regard to pride; for I am very proud, exalting myself above other men, coveting honor and praise for myself from my own people and from others, and taking pride in my strength and my youth and my health and in virtues which are not in me, that is, publishing myself as humble, chaste, pious, though I am not; and I have contempt for other men and I do not like to be despised by anyone; and I see everyone's sin, and judge them more than my own sin; and I am not humble before God nor before man as I ought to be; and it is for those reasons I declare my fault to God and to you in that sin.

In regard to envy I declare my fault, for I commit the sin of envy frequently, being envious of the health and youth and beauty of others, and envying the honor and good name of others, and I rejoice more in the ill-fame of my neighbor than in his good-fame; and for those reasons I declare my fault to God and to you, in every species of that sin.

In regard to anger I declare my fault, for I am much given to anger, being angry unjustly against everyone both cleric and laymen, and defaming those with whom I am angry, and backbiting them as I should not, and returning them evil for evil; and I maintain strife with my neighbor frequently, and I do not forgive them the wrong they do me, as I should; and for those reasons, and in every species there is in this sin, I declare my fault to God and to you.

In regard to sloth I declare my fault, for I am slow to good works and quick and strong to idle deeds, that is, slow to prayers and to piety and quick to drink and to eat, and to every sort of idleness; and I do not work corporally nor spiritually as I should, and as I could; and for those reasons I declare my fault to God and to you.

In regard to covetousness I declare my fault, for I am covetous of every temporal thing, that is, coveting gold and silver and raiment and every worldly good besides, by whatever means I might get them, for I devise tortuous ways to get them, and I grieve more over the loss of the things I possess, and I think more on temporal things, than on my God Himself, and for those reasons I declare my fault to God and to you, in every species there is in this sin and in its different ways, in general.

In regard to gluttony[23] I declare my fault, for I am very

[23] The first two lines of this paragraph are repeated in the text, the only difference being that the second time the word "eating" is omitted.

Do-*n* tadhall *indisim mo cair* óir glacai*m* mná 7 nei*th*e docraidhi ele na*ch*-dligfi*n*d do-glacad maille re-mían 7 re saint a-fhagbhala.

Do airtecala*ibh* an creiti*m* *indisim mo cair* óir ní fuilim dai*n*gen sa creiti*m* ama*il* do dlighfi*n*d 7 ní-denaim dei*th*bi*r* iti*r* na h-ai*r*teclaib 7 ni-smuaini*m* íat in-a-n-inadaib fein ma*r*-do dlighfi*n*d co-fri*ch*nama*ch*.

Do-*n* mai*n*dech*t*aidhi im-an-oific ndíadha *indisim mo cair* oir is fúa*r* mídut*r*ach*t*ach adei*r*im mo t*r*atha o-i*n*dtind corraig maille re mídú*t*racht c*r*aidhi 7 ní bí m-i*n*dti*n*d leis an-ní adei*r* mo bél 7 is-mó adei*r*im mo-t*r*atha o-n-a mbeith do-fíach*aibh* oram na-ódú*t*racht 7 ní abraim iatt an-a-n-aimsir fei*n* ama*il* do dlighfi*n*d 7 is-lúath bím do chu*m* smuaintigti di*m*æi*n* tri-m-u*r*naigti 7 ar-na-h-adba*r*aib sin *indisim* mo *cair* do día 7 díb-si

Do-na-h-athantaib do-facaib día a-talma*in* *indisim mo chair* óir ní co*m*línai*m* iatt .i. do cé*d* neith*ibh* ní charai*m* mo-día as-mo co*r*p 7 as-m-ana*m* ama*il* do dlighfi*n*d 7 caithi*m* a-aini*m* co-di*m*æin ac-a-taba*ir*t n-a-luidhe le breicc 7 creiti*m* do di*m*æines 7 do aisli*n*g-tib ma*r* nach dlighfi*n*d 7 ní coi*m*étai*m* na-do*m*naidhe inaitt-na-laithe sæire ama*il* do dlighfi*n*d 7 is-mó bís m-aire ar-ól 7 (fo 37c) ar-caithem 7 ar-di*m*æines i-sna-laith*ibh* sin na ar-urnaigti 7 ni-gra*d*aighim mo caraitt 7 mo-namaitt ma*r* do dligfi*n*d 7 ní-anoraim m-atha*ir* colla*idh*i 7[5] m-atha*ir* spi*r*atalta ma*r* do dligfi*n*d 7 bi*m* leth*t*rom co-me*n*ic ac-dena*m* lethfiad*ni* an-aga*idh* mo-co*m*a*r*san 7 do-ni*m* breg le-h-adba*r* 7 can adba*r* adei*r*im a*r* mo bel oibri*gh*ti maithe na*ch* bí a-m-i*n*dti*n*d 7 sa*n*ntaigim ben posta mo co*m*a*r*san 7 a*r* na-h-adba*r*aib sin indisi*m* mo-cai*r* do-día 7 díb-si. 7 fós *indisim* mo cai*r* ar co*m*æinecha cui*r*p Chri*st* ac-a-caithem co-mídingmala 7 an-uair do-ri*n*des co*m*æinecha fa-de*r*ed nir-ullmaiges mé ro*m*pa ma*r* do-dlighfi*n*d 7 nír coimé*t*us mé an-a-ndíaidh ma*r*-do dligfi*n*d 7 is-ar-na-h-adba*r*aib sin 7 a*r*-ca*ch* adba*r* d-a-nde*r*na *indisim* mo cai*r* do día 7 dib-si.

Do-na-pecth*aibh* so loghta *indisim* mo *cair* 7 ca*ch* leithe a-tiagatt a-peaca*d* ma*r*bta *tri* n-a-ngnathuga*dh* nó do-mían a-ndenmu*s*a 7 co-*f*oi*r*leth*an* da-ca*ch* degoba*ir* do-leices toram *tri*a-maindech*t*aidhi 7 ca*ch* olc do rón*us* ma*r* do aithi*n* día mé d-a-de*n*am *indisim* mo cai*r* do día 7 dib-si.

Do oibri*gh*thi*bh* na-t*r*ocai*r*e *indisim* mo *cair* óir ní *f*u*r*tach*t*aigim ar-boch*t*aib na-ar-an-neach ric a-leas bíad 7 étach ma*r* do dlighfi*n*d

[5] Here *na* is inserted above the sign for *ocus*. The former is translated.

gluttonous, indulging myself with every sort of food, eating and drinking to excess, as I ought not; and I do not restrain my will regularly, but take great delight in feasting in Lent and on the vigils of the Saints; and I am not thankful for a little satisfaction; and when I am full of food and of drink I am ready to do evil, and slothful in regard to good; and it is for those reasons, and for every species there is in this sin, I declare my fault to God and to you.

* * * * * *

In regard to the eight carnal sins I declare my fault, and in every species of guilt that God sees in them, in general and in particular, in grief and in sorrow and in forgiveness, for it [forgiveness] covers every sin completely.

In regard to the five bodily senses I declare my fault, for I do not guard them as I ought, and especially my mouth, for I often speak idle spiteful words, and I frequently backbite clerics and laymen, and members of religious orders besides, and I do not observe the restraint I should observe over my tongue, and I seek diligently for pleasant tastes in food and drink.

In regard to hearing I declare my fault, for it is easier for me to listen to idle words, and I am more eager to hear harsh contemptuous words than words that would help in God's sight.

In regard to sight I declare my fault, for I look at worldly things with love and the desire to get them, looking curiously at women with idle thoughts; and I do not guard my sight well from the idle things of the world, on which I happen in this life.

In regard to touch I declare my fault, for I take hold of women and other unseemly things that I should not grasp, along with the wish and the desire to have them.

In regard to the articles of faith I declare my fault, for I am not strong in the faith as I should be, and I make no distinction among the articles, and I do not meditate on them individually as I should do with diligence.

In regard to negligence in the divine office I declare my fault, for I say my hours coldly, negligently, from an inconstant mind along with carelessness of heart, and my mind is not on what my mouth speaks; and I say my hours more because it is an obligation on me than from zeal, and I do not say them at their proper time

7 ní tecaiscim na-dæine ainmfesacha sa-méitt fesa do beith doib acam 7[6] ní-fisraidim na h-eslain 7 ní fóirim a-míana fa-m-acfaind mar do dlighfind 7 ní nertaigim anmaind 7 ni-adlaicim marb 7 ni-tabraim furtacht dóib do derc na-do-urnaigti na de aithfirindaib 7 ar na-h-adbaraib sin 7 ar-cach-uile ceim a-facann día mo pecad indisim mo cair do día 7 díb-si 7 do nim comann ris-na-dæinib atá ar fogra o-n-eclais 7 cuirim neiche a-menmain 7 teigim iatt indti nó-co-ndenaim pecadh díb 7 ar-na-h-adbaraib sin indisim mo cair do día 7 díb-si. (fo 37d) 7 bimm lethtromm amairsech ar-oibrightib día 7 teigim an-eclais día co-mídingmala do-fechain cuirp Christ 7 do eistecht tserbisi día 7 cach inat a-faicenn día me co dimæin san-inad an-a-cóir dam fognam día do denam 7 congmaim smuaintigti peacacha acam mar nach dlighfind 7 caithim m-aimsir co-dimæin ac-denam toile an-tsægail an-agaidh toile dé 7 ar-na-h-adhbaraib sin indisim mo cair do día 7 díb-si 7 bethaigim na-pecaig is-na-laithibh saire gen-gob-cet dam a-ndenam is-na-laithibh ele 7 cach inatt a-faicenn día cor-caith mé mo cédfadha corparda an-agaidh a-toile .i. mo-chosa 7 mo-lama 7 mo-súile 7 mo cluasa 7 mo-bél 7 mo-sron 7 mo-tenga 7 mo croidi 7 toil mo cuirp an agaidh toile dé 7 ní-h-ead amain acht cach-uile ceim a-faicenn día mo-pecad sirim espalóid oraib-si ar grad día 7 breithemnus aithrige do cengal orum. FINIT.

[6] At this point the margin has this note in a later hand:—Is terc duine an-erinn do ni a fæisidin mar adeir an leabar-so. The translation is given in the preface.

as I ought; and I am quick to idle thoughts during my prayers; and for those reasons I declare my fault to God and to you.

In regard to the commandments that God left on earth I declare my fault, for I do not fulfill them; namely, in the first place, I do not love my God with my body and my soul as I should, and I take His name in vain, swearing to falsehood by it, and I believe in nonsense and in dreams, as I ought not; and I do not keep Sundays nor holydays as I ought; and my attention is given more to drinking and to eating and to idleness on those days than to prayer; and I do not love my friend and my enemy, as I ought; and I do not honor my fleshly father nor my spiritual father, as I should do; and I am frequently unjust by bearing false witness against my neighbor; and I tell lies with reason and without reason; and I claim with my mouth good deeds that are not in my mind; and I covet my neighbor's wife; and for those reasons I declare my fault to God and to you. And also I declare my fault in regard to partaking of the Body of Christ, for receiving it unstedfastly, and when at length I received communion, I did not prepare myself for it as I ought; and I did not keep myself after it as I ought; and it is for those reasons and for every cause I have given, I declare my fault to God and to you.

As to venial sins I declare my fault, and every way they become a mortal sin through habit or from the desire to commit them; and in general as to every good deed I have omitted through negligence, and every evil I have done, according to the commandment of God, I declare my fault to God and to you.

As to the works of mercy I declare my fault, for I do not help the poor nor him who needs food and clothing, as I ought, and I do not instruct the ignorant as far as I might have knowledge to give them, and I do not visit the sick and do not help their minds according to my ability as I ought, and I do not strengthen the weak, and I do not bury the dead, and I do not help them with almsgiving nor with prayers nor with Masses; and for those reasons and for every degree [of guilt] that God sees [in] my sin, I declare my fault to God and to you. And I have dealings with excommunicated persons, and I put things in [their] minds and foster them there till I cause them to commit sin; and for those reasons I declare my fault to God and to you.

And I am unsteady and distrustful concerning the acts of God; and I go seldom into the church of God to visit the Blessed Sacra-

ment, and to listen to the service of God; and [I confess] every occasion when God sees me idle when I should be serving God; and I entertain sinful thoughts, as I should not do, and I spend my time idly, doing the will of the world instead of the will of God; and for those reasons I declare my fault to God and to you. And I entertain sinners on holydays, though I am not permitted to do so on other days; and [I confess] every occasion that God sees that I have used my bodily senses against His will, namely, my feet, and my hands, and my eyes, and my ears, and my mouth, and my nose, and my tongue, and my heart, and the inclination of my body, against the will of God, and not only that, but [for] every degree [of guilt] that God sees [in] my sin, I ask absolution of you for the love of God, and that you impose on me a sacramental penance. FINIT.

JAMES A. GEARY.

UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

Gifts. By the Will of the late Mrs. Lucy Wharton Drexel, of Philadelphia, the University received the sum of Ten Thousand Dollars. Mrs. Drexel was an aunt of Mother Katherine Drexel, who founded the Institute of the Blessed Sacrament for the education of Indian children. Last Summer Mother Katherine, together with several other Sisters of her community, attended the first session of the Catholic University Summer School.

Miss Della Hamilton, of Omaha, Nebrsaka, has given to the University the sum of Five Thousand Dollars, to found a scholarship for ecclesiastical students, in favor of the diocese of Omaha.

Lecture on the Arthurian Saga. Dr. Paul Gleis, Walburg Professor of German language and literature, delivered February 14 a very important discourse on the origin and development of the Arthurian saga. He traced the legend beyond Norman England, Brittany and the Celtic peoples to the remote Orient. The lecture was one of the most impressive delivered in recent years in McMahon Hall.

Portrait of Father Walburg. The University has acquired an excellent oil painting of Reverend Anthony F. Walburg, late pastor of St. Augustine's Church, Cincinnati, who donated the sum of Fifty Thousand Dollars for the foundation of a chair of German language and literature. The portrait now hangs in the Rector's office, where it attracts general attention as a lifelike resemblance of this generous benefactor.

Gift to Library. Mrs. George May, of Washington, D. C., recently presented to the Library a copy of Fox's *Book of Martyrs,* an early and rare edition, in three folio volumes, of that curious and influential polemic of the fifteenth century.

Feast of St. Thomas. The feast of St. Thomas, the patronal feast of the Faculty of Philosophy, was celebrated in MacMahon Hall on Thursday, March 7, by a solemn High Mass at which Reverend Doctor George Sauvage was the celebrant. In the afternoon Doctor Pace delivered a learned and eloquent lecture on the life and character of St. Thomas Aquinas.

Retreats. The Lenten Season began with two Retreats, one for the lay students and one for the ecclesiastical students. The lay students' retreat was preached by Rev. James W. Dolan, Pastor of West Winfield, N. Y., former student of the University. The retreat for Ecclesiastics was conducted by Reverend Doctor Francis P. Duffy, Professor of Philosophy at St. Joseph's Seminary, Dunwoodie, New York, also an alumnus of the University.

Gibbons Hall. Work is progressing on the tower of Gibbons Hall, which is being built in commemoration of the double Jubilee of His Eminence, Cardinal Gibbons. The tower will be five stories high and will accomodate thirty students. It is in the best Collegiate Gothic style and built of Port Deposit Granite with carved stone trimmings.

Sisters' College. The Sisters' College has begun the second term of its first year's work with twenty-nine students, members of the various teaching orders throughout the country. The largest groups come from Terre Haute, Ind., and Dubuque, Ia. They are all preparing to teach in the Catholic Academies and Colleges for girls, and hope, by reason of the work they have already done elsewhere, to obtain their academic degrees at the end of this school year. At present the classes are held in the schoolroom of St. Benedict's Convent in Brookland. There are nine University Professors on the teaching staff, representing the Faculties of Letters, Science, Philosophy and Education. The Sisters are regularly registered students of the University and subject to all the conditions which govern the granting of degrees to laymen and clerics. The college was

opened last October in response to a need which our teaching communities have long felt, but which has never before been met except by Summer Sessions and brief Institutes for Catholic teachers. The results so far have amply justified the undertaking, and the time is not far distant when the University will be able to go into the work of training Catholic teachers, members of the religious orders of women, in a manner commensurate with the importance of the work which those teachers are doing.

Summer School. The Prospectus for the next Session of the Summer is now being prepared. The first session, held last summer, was a success beyond all expectation. There were in attendance, besides Catholic lay teachers, almost three hundred teaching Sisters representing forty States of the Union and half a dozen from Canada. From present indications the attendance next summer will be at least double that of the first session. Last year there were thirty-five courses given: the Prospectus this year will offer the same courses, and some thirty others will be added to the curriculum.